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THE
CONCLAVE
OF

Pope GREGORY XIV. *K*

M In the YEAR 1591.

Which lasted above Two MONTHS.

IN WHICH

All the INTRIGUES, ARTS and MANAGEMENT
usual upon such Occasions are succinctly related:

M ———— AND ————

The Parts which Secular Princes generally have in the ELECTION
of POPE S is shewed in the Persons of the King of SPAIN,
the Great Duke of TUSCANY, and the Duke of MAN-
TUA, and their Ministers at that Time.

Translated from an ITALIAN Manuscript.

WITH

A P R E F A C E,

Shewing the different Manners of chusing the POPE in every
CONCLAVE, and explaining all the Terms made use of in
the said Account.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ROBERTS, in Warwick-Lane, MDCCXX.

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WITH

A PREFACE.

Shewing the different Manners of choosing the POPE in every
CONCLAVE, and explaining all the Terms made use of in
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T H E

P R E F A C E.



HE *Italian* Copy, from which the following Sheets are a Translation, having fallen into a Gentleman's hands, he judged that a particular Account of a *Conclave* might be both pleasing and useful to the Publick, especially at this time, when the Cardinals at *Rome* are busied in the Election of a new POPE.

It is true that the following Narrative treats of a Conclave a great way back, and of the chusing a Pontif above a Century ago; but as the Intrigues and Arts of all Conclaves are much the same,

————— *Crimine ab uno*
Disce omnes.

It is not the design of this Preface to make an *Encomium* upon the following short History: It will recommend itself; for it appears to have been composed by a Man of good Sense, and one who, as he himself says, was well acquainted with the Management of that Election.

tion. But in order to make the following Sheets more intelligible to the *English* Reader, who perhaps has not had an opportunity of being rightly apprised of the meaning of the Terms *Scrutiny*, *Adoration*, *Accession* and *Exclusion*, as they are used in the Conclave; it seems necessary to deliver here a succinct Account of the manner of all Conclaves, and the method of chusing a Pope without voting, and of giving their Votes upon occasion; as also the manner of preventing the choice of such Persons as are obnoxious or less acceptable to Princes, by the Cardinals who are in the Interest of those Princes.

After the Death of a Pope is declared, the Cardinal *Camerlingo*, or High Chamberlain, takes the Administration of the Government upon him for nine days, and exercises, by vertue of his Post, all Acts of Sovereignty, such as going abroad attended by the papal Guards, coining Money, &c.

During the short time of the *Camerlingo's* Authority all hands are at work to fit up the Conclave; in which are Cells made of boards for all the Cardinals that are alive; every Cell being designed to contain the Cardinal to whose Lot it falls, together with his two Conclavists; of which one is generally of a good Family, or of singular Merit, at least in the Cardinal's opinion who pitches upon him, and is often in Priest's Orders, and serves his Eminence as Secretary; the other is his *Valet de Chambre*.

When

When the Cells are all finished and walled in, they are distributed amongst the whole College by Lot, appointing Cells for the absent Cardinals, as well as for those that are at *Rome*. And after this Appropriation is made, Cardinal Princes, and such as act as Ambassadors to crown'd Heads, make some additional Rooms to their Cells, because they are allowed one or two Attendants more than the others.

Upon the tenth Day after the Pope's Death, either by a particular Law, or by long Custom which has the force of a Law, all the Cardinals who are in *Rome* enter this Enclosure, with some Friends, who stay the whole Day, visiting the Cardinals of their Acquaintance, perhaps 'till near Midnight; after which the General of the Conclave (who is always a Person of Distinction, chosen for that Office) shuts up the Doors, never to be opened 'till the Pope is chosen, reserving only a Wicket, of which he keeps the Key himself, for letting in a new arrived Cardinal, or letting out one that is sick.

The first Days of the Conclave are generally taken up in making Parties, or (if they are agreed upon before) in finding out the Designs of their Opposites, and in pickeering as it were in Elections; so that there is scarce a Vote given in the Scrutiny for that Cardinal whom the Voter would desire to be Pope: It may indeed happen that a Person, scarce thought *papable*, may be chosen by such a Scrutiny, but it rarely happens;
a
for

for they are so dextrous in discovering the Intentions of the adverse Party, by gaining some Cardinal out of each of them, that they change their Suffrages, perhaps twice a day.

The different Parties are made up, 1. of such Cardinals as are openly in the Interest of secular Princes. Hence it is that we hear so frequently of the *Imperial*, *French* and *Spanish* Factions, *i. e.* the Cardinals who are protected, or have been promoted by those several Princes, or perhaps are born their Subjects, who unite themselves under that Cardinal who has greatest credit with each of those Powers. 2. Of such as have been created by different Popes, and are therefore called the *Creatures* of such a Pope. The several Parties of those are headed by the *Nephew* of that Pope whose *Creatures* they are; or if he is dead, by some other Cardinal of the same Creation, who has greatest Interest to unite them to himself. 3. Of the *Squadron volante*, or flying Squadron, who professing to be of no Party, sometimes vote with one, sometimes with another Party; but generally speaking rather to *exclude* than to *choose* a Pope.

As to the Arts and Intrigues of these different Parties, I refer the Reader to the following Sheets, and proceed to shew the several ways of Election, which are these three.

1. By *Adoration*. When two thirds of the Cardinals in the Conclave, and one Cardinal more, agree to prostrate

prostrate themselves before one particular Person, he is Pope without more ado. And in such cases they who are his Enemies, seeing that by the first motion he has the Number complete, go along with the stream, that they may be thought to have a share in his Election. This manner of making a Pope is used to surprise the opposite Parties, and to prevent their giving the Exclusion to any Cardinal thus set up. For which reason all the Factions are very vigilant to discover all the secret steps taken by their Antagonists, that they may not be taken napping.

2. By the *Scrutiny*. Every Morning after Mass, and every Evening after Vespers, the Cardinals appointed to receive the Votes have low Desks set before them, in the Sight of the whole College, whilst two others go round all the rest present, to collect their Votes in close Boxes (of which the Cardinals who are to receive them keep the Keys;) those Boxes have a slit on the top, into which each Cardinal puts his Vote. When they have collected all the Votes, they present them to the Cardinals who have the Keys, and they opening the Boxes, read the several Votes aloud, which are written in this Form. *Ego Cardinalis A. eligo in summum Pontificem Dominum Cardinalem B. sic me sancta DEI Evangelia adjuvent.* And then follows some Sentence of Scripture according to every one's Fancy. Of all that is written in each of these Notes nothing is to be seen but the Words *eligo in summum Pontificem Dom. Cardinalem B. sic me sancta DEI Evangelia adjuvent;*

for the Voter's Name, and the Scripture Text are folded down and sealed. When the Votes are all read, and no one Person has a sufficient Number for him, they have a chafing-dish or Stove ready to burn them all, that no Discovery may be made of the Voters Names. But if two thirds of the Cardinals vote for the same Person, his own Vote makes him Pope, altho' he should have no other. But in such cases they who gave their Votes against him *accede* to him, and the Votes for him are opened, and the Cardinals Names discovered, the others pretending that they voted for no-body, but designed to have acceded to him that was chosen.

3. By *Accession*. If any Cardinal has a considerable Number of Votes for him, so that there is a likelihood of his being elected, any one that pleases may get up at the Scrutiny, (altho' he has given his Vote otherwise) and say, *Ego Cardin. A. accedo Domino Cardinali B.* and if the Number of Acceders together with the Votes for him come up to the two thirds and one over, the Business is done.

But sometimes it happens (which was the case of *Gregory XIV.*) that the Parties, weary of a tedious Conclave, or some of the Heads of them being afraid of a Pope they hate, agree and make a Combination to chuse a Pope at such a particular time; when the Opposers find that it is not in their power to exclude that Person, they do not fold down their Names and seal them, as usually in the Scrutiny, but vote unanimously for him, which is called *Voti Scoperti*, open Votes.

When

When the Pope is chosen by either of the two last ways, the whole Conclave proceed to the Adoration. And then the new elected Pope declares what new Name he designs to be called by.

The News being published thro' the Conclave, the General has it notified to him; upon which he opens the Doors, and breaks down the Brick-work of the Gallery of St. *Peter's* Church. And the Report being quickly dispersed thro' the City, People flock to the Colonnade before the Church; and from one of the Windows of St. *Peter's* the eldest Cardinal Deacon proclaims the new Pope in these Words. *Annuncio vobis Gaudium magnum, habemus Pontificem Eminentissimum Dominum Cardinalem N. qui nomen M. sibi imposuit.*

During this time the new Pope retires to his Cell, and being drest in the Pontifical Habit receives the Congratulations of all the Cardinals, and (after the Doors are opened) of all the Prelates, Ambassadors, and *Roman* Princes who come to kiss his feet.

When all things are in order, he is carried in an open Chair upon Men's Shoulders to St. *Peter's* Church, where the Priests and other Clergy burn little Parcels of Flax before him all the way, with these Words, *Sic transit Gloria Mundi*; whilst he in the mean time blesses the People as he passes by, with repeated Signs of the Cross, 'till he is brought to the High Altar, where he has a Chair placed for him upon the middle of the Altar, to which he ascends by steps set for him, and there sits to receive

receive the Adoration of the Cardinals first, then of the Prelates, and Generals of the Religious Orders, and afterwards of some *Roman* Princes, one by one, which is done in this manner.

The eldest Cardinal rises from his Seat (for there is a Place made for the Cardinals in the Form of three sides of a Square, open towards the Altar) and kneeling down, bows himself towards the Pope in a posture of Adoration, then rising up, he steps down to the Floor, and walking half way towards the Altar, he makes a second Genuflexion, and Adoration, as formerly; then going to the foot of the Altar, he prostrates himself a third time, and kisses the Pope's Foot, and then his Hand; after which his Holiness stoops down and embraces him, making him some Compliment as he thinks fit. After him all the Cardinals in order perform the same Adoration, and have the same Privilege.

When the Cardinals have done, the Prelates and Generals of the several Orders do their Homage in the same way in every respect, except the last, *viz.* the Embrace.

After them the *Roman* Princes make all the Adorations mentioned, but are only admitted to kiss the Pope's Foot.

When this Ceremony is performed, which takes a long time, the Pope is carried to his Apartment in the *Vatican*, to repose himself after the Fatigue of the Day.

Having thus shewed as succinctly as I could the different ways of chusing the Pope, I shall say something of the *Exclusion*, for the Reader's better understanding of the following Sheets.

It

It is a common Expression that such a Cardinal had the Exclusion from the Emperor, *France*, or *Spain*; and many are of opinion that those Princes have, or claim a Right to hinder the Person so excluded from being elected, and that the Cardinals cannot chuse him; but it is not so, for every Cardinal is at freedom, if he will make use of his Liberty, to vote for whom he will.

The Exclusion then is no more than this, that such a Party of Cardinals join together to oppose the Election of such a Person; and one is said to be excluded by the Emperor, the Kings of *France* or *Spain*, when the Cardinals who declare themselves in the Interest of any of those Princes endeavour to prevent his Election. And we find in the following Account (as it happens in all Conclaves) that a particular Cardinal who is Head of any Party excluded such another of whom he was jealous; which is no more than that he made such Interest against him, that he was disappointed of his Election by wanting a sufficient Number of Votes. And several Popes have been made who were at first excluded, and particularly the very Pope chosen in the following Account.

But not to detain the Reader any longer, I shall only in a few Words explain one thing that seems a little odd in this Conclave (and it is the same in all others) that by the whole Management Cardinal *Montalto* appears to have had the greatest Interest, and not only hinder'd such as he disliked from being chosen, but in effect made *Cremona* Pope, and yet there was not the least Attempt made by him to be elected himself. F

I believe this did not proceed only from his having been too young, (altho' that is a material Objection, because the other Cardinals had no mind to preclude themselves from another chance for the Papacy) but he being Nephew to *Sixtus V.* who had been only dead as it were a few Days before, if he should have been chosen Pope, the whole College might probably have been *Sixtians*, or the Creatures of one Family; and so by their Interest the Papal Dignity might have been confined to them and theirs as by hereditary Succession, which the College will never come into. Nor is every Cardinal *papable* who is the Head of a Party; for to make him Head of any Faction it is only required that he be trusted by a Prince, that he be active and dextrous at managing Intrigues, or be a Nephew to a Pope; but these are bad Recommendations for the Chair, for they do not generally elect a Pope who is either young or vigorous, who is Nephew to a Pope lately Regent, or who has openly declared himself of the Interest of any powerful Prince in *Europe*. And for this Reason there are few Cardinals said to be *papable* (*i. e.* likely to be pitched upon for Pope) who are under any of those Circumstances. 4. OC 58

I know nothing more that is necessary for explaining the following Sheets, and shall give the Reader no farther Trouble.



THE CONCLAVE

Pope GREGORY XIV.

YOUR desire, to have a distinct and particular account of all that past in that *Conclave*, where *Gregory XIV.* was advanced to the Papacy, is very just, and your curiosity laudable: For I can truly affirm, that it was the fullest of variety, and the most memorable, and worthy of consideration, of any that has happen'd in this age, not only for the many Accidents that occur'd in it, the different Intrigues and Artifices by which it was conducted, for the space of two months it lasted; but also for the many Parties and Factions into which it was divided, and the contrariety of Designs occasion'd by the number of Candidates for the Papal Chair; and likewise for the almost insuperable Difficulties which every one had to contend with, either upon his own account, or that of his intimate Friends: So that from the first day of the *Conclave*, almost to the last, there was neither Conclavist nor Cardinal, who, by weighing the opposition made against

the several Pretenders, with the Friends and Assistance that each of them had, could even make a guess, much less form a certain judgment, who had the best chance to be elected. The interest and opposition made for and against every one of them seem'd to be so equal, and the balance so even on all sides, that it was not possible to discover which should be obliged to yield to another.

Besides, in this Conclave, more than in any other, the Humors, Inclinations and Intrigues of the greatest part of the Princes of *Europe* appeared, and the Passions, Resentments and Selfishness of almost the whole College of Cardinals (which, before that time, were either conceal'd, or judg'd to be the very reverse of what they really were) were discover'd. And, at last, it was manifest that they had either forgot, or neglected the Measures taken in former Conclaves, and the Rules prescrib'd by Men of Understanding and Experience in such Intrigues, and had form'd new Rules to themselves, quite opposite to those that had been introduced for good Reasons, and approved by long Practice; thinking to carry their Designs, with greater ease, by their new Maxims. But how much they were out in their Politicks, the event of this Conclave sufficiently shews.

Being therefore inclin'd, as well as bound in Duty, to do you all the service in my Power, and having been (if not privy to all that past, at least) an Eye-witness of the greatest part of this important Affair, and had occasion to inform myself of all the Particulars relating to the Conclave, I have resolv'd to give you a faithful account of all that past there, not in the form of a Journal, but by way of Narrative or History of the most memorable things that happen'd with regard to the electing the Pope.

To give you a distinct Knowledge of the whole, it will not be amiss to take a short view of the state of Affairs about the time of *Urban's* Death, to the shutting up the Conclave, that you may, by this Introduction, understand the whole in order.

Any

Any one who is well acquainted with the Court of *Rome* knows, that in every Pope's Reign the greatest part of the time is spent in Intrigues how to manage the next Election; because, in a matter of such Difficulty, and subject to so many Accidents, it is necessary to begin betimes to make Interest for or against any one; that when the Pope shall happen to die, he who has his People ready, and his Measures prepar'd, may with more ease put his Design in execution.

But *Urban's* Pontificate had been of so short Duration, that neither had the Princes time to prepare for a new Election, nor the Cardinals to remove the obstructions, which they had discover'd to lie in their way, at the time of their last Conclave: So that the Pope dying unexpectedly, both the Princes and the Cardinals were taken tardy, and were forced to come to a Resolution, and chuse their Parties at once, which for the most part proves a very precarious way. It is no wonder then, if, in the sequel, it was censur'd as imprudent and unreasonable.

Amongst others the great Duke of *Tuscany*, who being as it were surrounded by the Ecclesiastical State was much interested in having the Pope his Friend, had, upon all occasions of a Vacancy, been very watchful, and us'd all his endeavours to hinder any Person's advancement to the Papacy without his concurring in the Election; and having been long a Cardinal himself he had been in three Conclaves, and behav'd himself in two of them with great Skill and Reputation; and, by his Union and Alliance with *Montalto*; by his Friends amongst the Cardinals and his Creatures in the Court of *Rome*; by his Sagacity in finding out whom every Cardinal inclin'd to favour in case of a new Election; and finally, by the great stroke he had in *Urban VII's* Election, had acquir'd such Credit in the Court, that he was generally believ'd to be one of the chief Directors of the Conclave.

Some months before *Sixtus the V's* Death there had happen'd a Misunderstanding between the King of *Spain* and him,

*He reign'd only
13 Days.*

*The great
Duke of Tuf-
cany's Care in
electing Popes.*

which was thought to be more owing to false reports, and ill offices done him by that King's Ministers, than to any fault of his; but immediately upon *Sixtus's* Death, thinking that a good opportunity to undeceive his Catholic Majesty, and to regain his favour, he dispatch'd a Courier to assure him, that he would use all his Interest to serve his Majesty in the ensuing Election, and to promote any Person that should be agreeable to him, except Cardinal *Santiquatro*, whom he was obliged to oppose for private Interest, and other pressing Reasons. At the same time he signify'd to the Duke of *Siffa*, and the Count *d'Olivarez*, the King's Ambassadors at *Rome*, that he would not cross the King's Inclinations in the Election, and that he had expressly order'd his Ministers and Friends to act in concert with them, which was accordingly done, as appear'd by the Advancement of *Urban* to the Chair, who was a Person belov'd and esteem'd by his Catholic Majesty.

After this Pope's Death, the Great Duke pursuing the same Measures, renew'd his Promise to the Ambassadors, and his Instructions to those in his Interest; so that it might, with reason, be concluded, that as in the last Conclave the concurring Interests of the King and great Duke had so easily rais'd *Urban* to the Papacy, the same united Force would carry it now; especially considering that the Duke's Credit was rather increas'd than diminish'd; that he had the same Friends as before, and the same Correspondence with *Montalto*, and prosecuted the Design with the same Eagerness as formerly.

But Arguments taken from Examples, when Circumstances differ, are very fallacious. In the case of the last Pope, (Cardinal *Castagno*) there were both the good-will of Princes, and the liking of almost all the sacred College. He was the Creature of *Gregory XIII.* which procured him the Interest of that Party, (consisting of XIV. Cardinals with *Sforza* at their Head;) besides that, during *Sixtus's* time, the Duke and his Friends had time to get *Montalto* on their side; whereas in this Conclave things were very different: For (besides those Cardinals

nals in the King's nomination, against whom the Duke expressly excepted) there was not one in his Majesty's List whom he could entirely confide in, and they had powerful Adversaries; so that he could not expect, by the *Spanish* Interest alone joined to his, that he should be able to advance any Person to the Chair.

Being therefore desirous, on the one hand, to oblige the King of *Spain*, and, on the other, to give a sure *Exclusion* to such as he disliked, and at the same time to have a share in the ensuing Election, he was greatly perplexed what course to take, to accomplish all these ends.

In the mean time the Count *d' Olivarez*, resolving to do his best to promote his Godfather and intimate Friend *Sanseverin*, who had always given a turn to the Affairs of *France* to the liking of *Spain*, gave out, that this Cardinal was the first in the King's List, and practised above board in his favour, altho' it was shrewdly suspected, that he did so for his own private Interest, without consulting the King's Inclination; for *Sanseverin* was a known Disciple of *Paul IV.* who first raised him; and as he had a great deal of his temper, he was also thought to have the same views, being a great admirer of the Grandeur of the Apostolic See, and most zealous for the Immunities of the Church; for which reason he had many times blamed the *Spaniards* for pretending to the Monarchy of *Sicily*, and for supporting the *Exequatur Regium* * in *Naples*; and as he was of a deep Reach and exalted Understanding, he gave in to new and strange Designs, which in a fierce hasty temper, like his, that was taken by the first impression, and obstinately positive in his own opinion, might occasion great Disorders and Revolutions. Nor was it probable that the King's Ministers, who observe nicely, in Cardinals, not only the natural bent of their Inclinations, and the chief scope of their

*The Count
d'Olivarez's
Project for
making Cardi-
nal Sanseverin
Pope.*

* It had been a constant Practice in *Naples*, never to allow a Pope's Bull to be published without the King's Licence, which past in that Form *Exequatur*. Vid. *Giannone's Istoria Civile. To. 4.*

Actions, but the minutest things that may any way tend to the prejudice of their Master's Interest, should not have seen the manifest Danger that threatened the King of *Spain*, if *Sanseverin* should have been chosen Pope; for it was plain to every one that was not blinded with Prejudice and Interest.

Besides, it seemed highly reasonable, since the King had named several Cardinals as his Confidants and Friends, that his Ministers should, at least in publick, shew an equal Countenance to them all (as was done at the last Conclave) that they might not disgust any of them, by shewing a plain Distinction and Diffidence towards all the rest for the sake of one.

Cardinal del Monte joins him,

Cardinal *del Monte*, who was Head of the Great Duke's Party, observing this Management, and considering that *Montalto* had, in the last Conclave, shewed himself inclined to *Sanseverin*, judged that if the two Parties (that of *Spain* and the Great Duke) should unite in the same Person, they would easily compass his Election, as they had that of *Urban*; and that if *Montalto* should make any scruple to come into it, *Sanseverin* having five or six Friends, who were zealous for him, amongst the *Sixtians*, those being joined by some others of the other Parties, and supported by the Authority which the Great Duke had with *Montalto*, would at last bring him over; he therefore wrote to the Duke, that if he was determined to assist *Sanseverin*, he would certainly be Pope.

and brings the Grand Duke to consent to it:

The Duke believing *del Monte's* Letters, and considering that if *Sanseverin* should be Pope by his Assistance, he had gained his end, and not seeing in the King's List any one more to his liking, not only gave Consent to his Election, but sent Instructions to all his Party to assist him, which *del Monte* began to do above board with the same eagerness that *Olivarez* did.

But changes his Mind in Favour of Cremona.

But Advices coming to the Great Duke from other Hands, of the Difficulties *Sanseverin* was like to meet with, (for *Altemps*, *Alexandrino*, and *Sforza* strenuously opposed him, as did also the *Colonna's*, and some others even of the *Spanish* Party, and *Montalto* was grown cool) his Highness changed his Mind, and

and determined to assist the Cardinal of *Cremona*, as well to satisfy Cardinal *Altemps*, who had frequently press'd him earnestly to it, as because he thought it might be more easily effected; for (besides some of the *Spanish* Party) the *Gregorian* Creatures, who were thirteen, together with *Altemps* and his Party, were for *Cremona*, and *Montalto* seemed to favour them.

But the Duke of *Mantua*, who hated him upon account of some Disputes that had been between them, and ever since the last Conclave had declared himself his Enemy, when he found the Danger near of his being elected, endeavoured with great Vigour to prevent it: He therefore earnestly begg'd of the Great Duke, who was his Relation, not only to desist from assisting *Cremona*, but likewise to join with him in getting him excluded; and having requested the same, in the former Conclave, of *Montalto*, (who for the Interest he had in the Marquisate of *Ancisa*, belonging to his Brother Don *Michael*, in that Duke's Dominions, had reason to be complaisant to him, and therefore had promised him not to assist *Cremona*) the Duke renewed his request to him at this time, so that *Montalto* was obliged to give him a new assurance: And the Great Duke declaring himself likewise against *Cremona*, things came back to their former state; the Count *d'Olivarez* using the same Interest for *Sanseverin*, and *del Monte* every day giving the Great Duke new hopes of the Success of it, he therefore confirmed his former Instructions to his Party, to assist him with all their might.

Cardinal *Sanseverin* being at this time confined to his Bed, his Indisposition, and the open Interest made for him by the *Spaniards* and the Great Duke, brought almost all the Cardinals to visit him, who upon that occasion offered him their Votes. All these things joined together, every one thought that he was secure of the Papacy, as soon as the Cardinals should enter the Conclave.

Cardinal *Alexandrino* (*Sanseverin's* chief Adversary) seeing things so far advanced in his Favour, left no stone unturn'd to exclude him; and finding that the whole depended upon *Montalto*,

The Duke of Mantua opposes Cremona, and brings the Great Duke and Montalto into his Measures.

Sanseverin believed to be sure of being elected:

But is opposed by Cardinal Alexandrino.

talto, (for he saw it was to no purpose to endeavour to move the Great Duke) he laboured strenuously to make that Cardinal, and his Grandmother Signora *Camilla*, jealous of *Sanseverin*, persuading them that he had been a bitter Enemy to Pope *Sixtus*, as having thought himself ill-used and despised by him; and therefore he had always defamed that Pope's Actions, and spoken most reproachfully with regard to the Troubles in *France*; so that if he should come to be Pope, he would prove an uncommon Persecutor of his Memory, as he had promised to the Ambassadors of *Spain* particulatly, which had obliged them to be so much for him.

Who sets Montalto against him

These and other things to the same purpose, spoken by *Alexandrino* with much earnestness, had such an Impression upon Signora *Camilla*, and even upon *Montalto*, that he resolved to oppose him with all his Interest; and he was afterwards confirmed in that Resolution by others of his Friends, from other Motives. They represented to him, that it was not sufficient to hinder *Sanseverin's* Election, but since he had as much Power in the Sacred College, and as great a Party as any Pope's Nephew had ever been able to boast, he ought to make it his business to chuse a Pope, who should owe his Creation more to him than to others; in order to which, he ought to have no regard to the pleasing of secular Princes, but rather pitch upon a Person to whom they had given the Exclusion; for if he should assist one of their nomination, or one who was acceptable to them, the Obligation would be to them as the first Movers, and not to him who only assisted as inspired by them, and guided by their Influence and Management; of which he had had a late Example in *Urban*, who as soon as he was made Pope, began to shew his Ingratitude to him. Whereas, on the other hand, if he would advance a Person who was either excluded, or not in any Prince's List, that Person would owe entirely his Promotion to him alone; and it would add to the Obligation, that he had got him chosen without minding either the Favour or Displeasure of any Prince.

To this they added, that by this management he would acquire such Credit and Reputation for the future, that in all after Conclaves his Authority would oblige his Party to stick by him, and would likewise make him formidable to the Princes, which would force them to court his Friendship.

They concluded that this affair would prove easy, by joining with *Sforza*, the Head of the *Gregorian* Party, which consisted of thirteen Cardinals, and many of them papable; and every one of those had his own Friends among the Cardinals of other Parties: So that if he would set up one of them, there was not the least doubt but his Uncle's Creatures, who were XXIV. joined with the *Gregorians*, would be able to make the Pope without any other Assistance. And since he could not think of Cardinal *Santiquatro* upon the Great Duke's account, nor of the Cardinal of *Cremona*, by reason of the Sollicitations of the Dukes of *Tuscany* and *Mantua* to the contrary, they put him in mind of Cardinal *Mondovi*, a Person worthy of the Dignity, being endowed with excellent Qualities, and beloved by all the Sacred College, for his good Life and affable Behaviour; he was of a mild Temper, liberal, generous and magnificent; and having been long acquainted with the Court of *Rome*, and risen by degrees to the Purple by his Virtue, had in all Stations been a constant Friend, and shewed himself grateful to every one that had done him the least Kindness.

To this Character they added, that he had no Relations, unless very remote ones, and that he had never received the least Disgust from Pope *Sixtus*, but had been obliged by him, for which he would always be grateful to his Memory; and tho' it appeared in the last Conclave, that the *Spaniards* were not at all inclined to that Cardinal, that very thing ought to prevail with him to befriend him, considering that they seem'd to have a particular View to get a Pope, who should be a mortal Enemy and a Persecutor of *Sixtus's* Memory (so much hated by the *Spanish* Nation) which was the reason why they pitched upon *Sanseverin* or *Paleotti*; that the Obligation the new Pope

Pope should have to them, being added to his own Inclination, might induce him to prosecute *Sixtus's* Posterity; that by adding this Example to that of *Paul IV.*'s Nephews, the future Popes might take care how they disoblige the Kings of *Spain*.

Since therefore it was the Interest of *Montalto* and his Family to oppose any one that should be elected by the *Spanish* Interest, he could not pitch upon a Person fitter or more likely to succeed than *Mondovi*, altho' he had been excluded by his Catholic Majesty; for he had many Friends even amongst the *Spanish* Party, and Cardinal *Madruccio* himself, who was Head of it, had Obligations to him; *Altemps* favoured him since the last Conclave; the Great Duke had no reason to reject him; and the Cardinals could not be his Enemies, upon his own account, having never received any Offence from him. So that the *Gregorians*, and the Creatures of *Sixtus* united together, would be more than sufficient to make good his Election.

Montalto
joins with
Card. Sforza.

Montalto being convinced by this reasoning, and perceiving that Cardinal *Monte* and the *Spaniards* laboured indefatigably for *Sanseverin*, and boasted that they were able to make him Pope without his Assistance; and likewise said they had brought over thirteen of his Party to them, (and this appeared more likely, because the Wagers run a hundred to forty for that Cardinal) he resolved as soon as he could to unite with *Sforza*. In order to this they agreed together to concur heartily in the Exclusion of *Sanseverin*; *Montalto* promising, on his part, that (as soon as he had satisfied some of his own Party, to keep them in his Interest, and acquitted himself to *Colonna* upon the score of Relation) he would join with him to advance one of the Creatures of *Gregory XIII.* to the Chair. But, on the other hand, he desired *Sforza* to promise that he would concur with him in choosing one of his Party, if there should be any proposed; and that neither of them should propose *Santiquatro*, by reason of the Great Duke's Opposition: And then telling *Sforza* the View he had of setting up *Mondovi*, he not only approved

approved of it, but promised his utmost Assistance; and lest some rubs might come in the way, they concluded to keep it secret till the proper time.

In the mean time *Colonna* and *Paleotti* did not neglect their Affairs: And the first of these believing, that if he had been in the King of *Spain's* List at the former Conclave, he might have been Pope by *Montalto's* Assistance, he now used all his Interest to get himself named; complaining to the Ambassadors, that both himself and Family having served the Crown of *Spain* so faithfully for many Years, he thought it hard that he should not have been inserted amongst his Catholic Majesty's Friends and Confidants, named for the Papacy; and that many, who deserved less of the King than he had done, were preferr'd before him. This obliged the Ambassadors to put *Colonna* in the Nomination, to please a Family so acceptable to their Master.

Cardinal Colonna gets himself put in the King of Spain's List.

Paleotti too, considering that the Injuries he had received from *Sixtus*, had given *Montalto* an Aversion to him, took several ways to persuade him, that he had not only forgot any Offence he had received from his Uncle, but that he did not account it an Offence; and believing that if he could get the Great Duke's Interest, his Power over *Montalto* would be of great use to him, he procured strong Sollicitations (and even from the Count *d'Olivarez*) to the Duke. And Cardinal *Monte* wrote to the Duke, that if they could not get over the Difficulties in *Sanseverin's* way, or that greater should ensue, *Paleotti* was the likeliest to succeed of any in the List, if his Highness would give him his Assistance, because the *Spaniards* were for him, next to the other; *Attemps* and the Creatures of *Pius IV.* would not oppose him, as being one of them; *Alexandrino* could not be against him, as having been beloved and caressed by his Uncle; the spiritual Cardinals would be glad of him, and his own Goodness would draw many of *Sixtus's* Creatures, who (getting over their Scruples of Conscience with regard to the King, the Great Duke, and Cardinal *Mont-*

Paleotti court Montalto.

domi) would serve *Paleotti* (altho' *Montalto* refused) because they did not think themselves bound to stick by him in this Conclave, having acquitted themselves of all Obligation, by serving him in the last.

The Great
Duke declares
for him.

The Great Duke was the easier persuaded by these Reasons, because in all the *Spanish* List he did not find a Person (except *Sanseverin*) less suspected by him than *Paleotti*. He also thought this a good Opportunity to shew his Inclination to please the King of *Spain*, and to make both the *Spaniards* and others believe, that his excluding *Santiquatro* was upon other accounts than his Attachment to the *Farnese* Family, since he accepted *Paleotti*, who was no less obliged to it than the other. He therefore consented at last, and gave Instructions to his Friends, to assist him next to *Sanseverin*, altho' he had good reason not to be fond of his being elected, for the Causes above named; and likewise as never having had great Correspondence with him, and his being opposed by *Montalto*, whose Friendship was necessary to him.

The Cardinals
enter the Con-
clave.

Things being in this State, the eighth of *October* was appointed for entering the *Conclave*; into which (after the Mass of the Holy Ghost was said, according to Custom) all the Cardinals present enter'd, to the number of LII. (for Cardinals of *Austria* and *Gaetano* came afterwards) viz. Seven of *Pius IV.*'s Creation under Cardinal *Altemps*, six of *Pius V.*'s under *Alexandrino*, thirteen *Gregorians* followed *Sforza*, twenty four *Sixtians* under *Montalto*, one of *Julius III.* who was *Simoncello*; then *Madruccio* appeared as Head of the *Spanish* Party, consisting of several Cardinals detach'd from the former Classes; and *Monte* led those of the Great Duke's Party, which consisted at first of five Cardinals, but afterwards came to three, because *Lancellotti* and *Lavelli* deserted them.

The several
Parties redu-
ced to two.

These several Heads were not followed by all their Parties, for afterwards all the chief Leaders, with many of the Cardinals of their Factions, divided themselves into two Parties only; one of which followed *Montalto*, who had *Altemps* and

Sforza

Sforza on his Side; and the other stuck to *Madruccio*, together with *Alexandrino*, and, for a while, *Monte*. It is indeed true, that in each of these Classes there were some Cardinals who pretended that they were free as to including some *Candidates*, and excluding others; and therefore they chang'd Sides, according as Conscience or Interest carry'd them.

Sforza, *Montalto*, and some others, had begun secretly, before they enter'd the Conclave, to make sure the Agreement of promoting *Mondovi* to the Chair; and they had gone so far, as to disclose it to some Confidents of theirs, which coming that very Day to Count *d'Olivarez's* Ears, (with this Addition that they would make him Pope the first Night, as was the Report in *Rome*;) the Count being fixed in his Resolution to favour Cardinal *Sanseverin*, and knowing that *Mondovi* was not in the *Spanish* List, went the first Night to the Conclave, where he visited the Cardinals till eleven a clock at night, using all his Interest with them against him: Begging of all who were in the King's Confidence, and of others likewise (and among the rest *Sforza* and *Montalto*) that they would not upon any account give him their Votes, nor pitch upon any Person but one who was nominated by the King his Master: And then departing with his Mind at ease, the Conclave was shut up at midnight.

The *Spanish* Ambassadors had publish'd the King's List, which consisted of seven Cardinals, *Sanseverin*, *Paleotti*, *Madruccio*, *Coma*, *Colonna*, *Santiquatro*, and *Cremona*: But these were afterwards reduced to the three first, as those who were most acceptable to the King. However, there was sent to *Madruccio*, and the other Cardinals in the *Spanish* Interest, an express Prohibition not to vote for any but one of the above-nam'd seven; and *Firenza*, *Salviati*, *Verona*, *Mondovi*, and *Lancelotti* were excluded by Name with all the Creatures of *Sixtus*.

This Exclusion, so full and general, gave no less occasion of murmuring to the Court, and the greater Part of the College.

Olivarez uses his Interest to exclude Mondovi.

Five Cardinals excepted against by Name by the Spanish Ambassadors.

which disoblige the College.

lege

lege of Cardinals, than the Nomination had done accompany'd with the Prohibition mention'd. For it seem'd no less unjust and unreasonable, than it was unusual and new, that the King (who was wont only to exclude one or two at most, and very often none at all,) should now take upon him to exclude 30. or rather the whole College, except seven; nor could it be said that they were all Enemies, or suspected to the King.

But particularly their excepting against Mondovi.

But what increas'd the Surprize, was to see *Mondovi* excluded, a Person so eminently deserving, that, from the very time of his being made a Cardinal, he had been reputed and pointed out for Pope. Nor could the greatest Politicians find out the Cause of excluding him; he was the King's Subject, and of a tolerable Family, and without Relations; he had been under Obligations to the Duke of *Savoy*, the King's Son in Law, who he believ'd had recommended him, and brought him in Favour with the King. He had been nominated by his Majesty at every Vacancy, ever since *Gregory XIII.*'s Death. He had done good Service to the House of *Austria* in *Poland* and *Savoy*, in the one of which Places he had been Nuncio once; and in the other twice; and in each Place had served the *Holy See* and the *Catholic Religion* very faithfully; he had been taken notice of by the King of *Spain*, and was generally esteem'd a good Subject and faithful Servant to his Majesty. As to what was objected to him, that he had been in the Interest of the King of *Navarre*, that he had advis'd Pope *Sixtus*, with regard to the Affairs of *France*, and that the *Navarrists* wish'd his Exaltation to the Pontificate; supposing them all to be true, they were not sufficient to exclude him, it being enough to pass him by in his Majesty's List.

For, as to the first Imputation; he had serv'd the present King of *Navarre*'s Father for about six Months whilst he was Catholic, but not this King, who was but then a Child; and the Causes of his serving, and who put him upon it, were very well known.

As

As to the second Objection; it was known to be false, because it was no Secret, whence *Sixtus V.*'s Counsels came, and that *Mondovi* was not the Author of them.

And, as to the third; it was not to be imagin'd that the Opinion of the *Navarrese* could be known to his Catholic Majesty, because at the time that the Exclusion past against *Mondovi*, the Death of *Sixtus* was not known, (much less that of *Urban*) in *France*; so that the *Navarrese* desiring him to be Pope, must be a Fiction of the Ambassadors, and consequently the Exclusion was theirs and not his Majesty's: That the Ambassadors having perhaps been mistaken, in the last Conclave, in their Opinion of the said Cardinal, had therefore forbore to name him in this, and thought themselves now oblig'd to exclude him altogether, lest he should be disgusted at being struck out of the Nomination, or that they should be judg'd to have made a false Step in not inserting him in the King's List.

The Day following, Cardinal *Montalto*, trusting to the Promises made him, from the time of the last Conclave, by *Sforza*, *Altemps*, the two *Gonzaga's*, and the two *Colonna's* to join with him the next Conclave, in chusing one of his Uncle's Creatures Pope; (which Promise they had upon this Occasion repeated to him, more indeed to gain his Good Will, and the Favour of his Party, than from any Intention to perform their Word, when it should come to the Push) resolv'd to attempt, with the Assistance of some of his Friends, to make Cardinal *Aldobrandini* Montalto sets up Aldobrandini. Pope; a Person worthy of that Dignity for his great Learning, his excellent Life, and his good Behaviour in his Legation to the Court of *Poland*. But he was somewhat too young, being then only 52 Years of Age.

Montalto therefore began to manage the Affairs dexterously with those of his Party, praying them in general to unite cordially to get a Pope chosen from amongst themselves; and finding them much disposed to come into it, he nam'd *Aldobrandini* to such as were his greatest Confidants; he did the same to *Sforza* and *Alexandrino*, who both agreed to it; the first

to keep his Word to *Montalto*, and the second out of Friendship to *Aldobrandini*, as having been much oblig'd and caress'd by his Uncle *Pius V.* and about five a Clock at night the matter was in such forwardness, that being persuaded they had two Votes more than were necessary, and thinking to make the Election without the *Spaniards*, they determin'd at 7 a clock to make the *Adoration*.

Vid. Pref.

*But is oppos'd
by Madruccio,
who gets him
excluded.*

But Cardinal *Madruccio* being appriz'd of it, went immediately to Cardinal *Altemps*, and got him brought over; the same he effected with the *Gonzaga's* and *Colonna's*, together with five Creatures of *Gregory XIII.* and seven of *Sixtus V.*; and *Montalto* having sent at the same time to all his Party to put on their Rochets, to be ready for the *Adoration*, *Rovere* and *Monteo* were absent, *Sauli* hid himself in *Gonzaga's* Cell, and *Matthei* being disgusted that *Montalto* had shew'd so little Regard to him, would not stir; so that by the Behaviour of these, guessing at the Mind of the others, they perceiv'd *Aldobrandini* excluded by 27 Cardinals, and therefore dropp'd the Design, which in many People's Opinion would have succeeded, had it been carry'd on with Vigour, and discover'd equally to all the Parties, and if they had lost no time in making the *Adoration*.

After this, *Montalto*, to satisfy *Rovere*, one of his Creatures, began an Intrigue in his Favour, but finding that the *Spanish* Party was averse to him, as also the *Florentines* and *Mantuaes*, (altho' the *Spaniards*, not to disgust him, offer'd him four Votes) and that the Opposition was too strong to be got over, he desisted from the Enterprize.

Cremona excluded.

Whilst things stood thus, the *Gonzaga's* were advis'd, that *Sforza* and *Altemps* were using their Interest for *Cremona*, they therefore, setting themselves vigorously to oppose him, with much Difficulty compass'd his Exclusion by 28 Votes.

*Colonna sets
up.*

On *Friday*, the 12th of *October*, Cardinal *Ascanio Colonna* finding that *Montalto* had given some Satisfaction to his Party by this last Step, and could not refuse upon the account of
Relation

Relation to shew some regard to the *Colonna* Family, resolv'd without delay to try his own Fortune.

Having therefore procur'd a Promise from *Montalto* to join him with XV of his Followers, and thinking himself secure of *Madruccio* and his Party, as being one in the *Spanish* List, he began with Cardinals *Alexandrino*, *Simoncello*, and *Cosenza*, to pursue the Intrigue, which seem'd to go on wonderfully; for, besides the Votes of the above-mention'd two Parties, he made sure of the greater part of the old Cardinals, who, partly out of Friendship, and partly to ingratiate themselves with the *Colonna* Family, and oblige them to assist them upon the like occasion, promis'd to serve the Cardinal; so that having found more than were necessary, had they gone at that instant (without protracting the time,) to the *Adoration*, Cardinal *Ascanio* had undoubtedly been Pope. For, the Cardinals *Arragon*, *Altemps*, and *Sforza*, who went about to get him excluded, did not find that they could certainly effect it; and several of the *Gregorians* who had promised him their Votes at this Juncture, were afraid to be worse than their Word, and in this Heat of *Adoration* would have gone with the rest.

and had succeeded, if he had not delayed too long.

About ten a clock at night, the whole Conclave were under great Apprehensions, seeing things come to this Hazard; and *Colonna* being advis'd by some of his Friends, that there was no time to be lost in proceeding to the *Adoration*, answer'd, that it was better to defer it till morning, that things might be done with less Hurry, and more Decorum, as it was in the case of *Urban*.

But his Adversaries profiting by this Delay, gather'd Heart, and confirm'd the Minds of the resolute, animated the fearful, and brought back to their part some of those they had lost; and they yet were not secure of stopping his Election, not thinking they could depend upon those who had promis'd not to go; because they were afraid they might be gain'd by the Solicitations of Cardinal *Ascanio*'s Friends, who were very

busy; or else that being surpriz'd the next morning, with fear of his being Pope without their Assistance, they might run to accompany the rest: They were therefore persuaded by Cardinal *d'Arragon*, (who was well acquainted with such Intrigues, and a Man of good Judgment,) to assemble in Cardinal *Sforza's* Cell, every one bringing his Friends with him; which being agreed to by the others, considering that they might find Resistance in some, particularly in *Paleotti* and *Mondovi*, who would not be willing to disoblige the *Colonna's* by declaring openly against them, both upon the account of old Friendship, and also because they were separately carrying on their own Interest; therefore *Arragon*, *Altemps* and *Sforza* persuaded *Paleotti*, that that Congregation was design'd for his Advantage; and they told *Mondovi*, that they design'd a Diversion in his behalf; by which pretences they brought them both to the Lure.

A Congregation meets to exclude him.

There assembled therefore, about nine at night, in *Sforza's* Cell, XV. Cardinals, viz. *Arragon*, *Paleotti*, *Altemps*, *Sans*, *Caraffa*, *Santiquatro*, *Cremona*, *Verona*, *Mondovi*, *Rovere*, *Morefino*, *Boromeo*, *Cusano*, *Alano* and *Sforza*; *Sanseverin*, *Albano* and *Salviati* being in bed could not come, but sent to give their Word to stick by them.

In this Assembly, after *Altemps* had talk'd a long time with much persuasive Eloquence, and was seconded by *Sforza* with Entreaties, they all promis'd not to go the *Adoration* of *Colonna*; and that they might be secure of one another, they engag'd that they should not move a foot if they heard any rumour of its being attempted that night; and in case there should be any thing offer'd the next morning in the Chapel, they should all retire to one side. After this Agreement they gain'd over to their Party five others of *Montalto's* Creatures, (who had not at first discover'd themselves for fear;) and the rather, because when *Montalto* had promis'd XV. to *Colonna*, he had not nam'd their names.

However,

However, Cardinal *Afcanio*, after this Congregation was held, try'd his interest again, and us'd his utmost power to make many of the Cardinals change their minds; but finding them obdurate, he was forced to yield to the time, and give over his pursuit; repenting that he had not taken the Counsel given him at first. *He gives over the Design.*

The day following *Sforza* and *Montalto* resolv'd to try their power for *Mondovi*, and each of them having dexterously felt the pulse of his Party, and manag'd them to the best advantage, the first had eight, and the other twenty ready to join them, of which they gave an account immediately to *Altemps*, *Arragon*, and *Alexandrino*, in whom they not only found the same readiness in giving their Votes, but they promised their assistance in managing the Affair likewise. *Mondovi set up again.*

And indeed, amongst them, they brought it to that pass that they wanted but two Votes, having 34 secure: with which had they proceeded that moment to the *Adoration*, notwithstanding the open Exclusion of the *Spaniards* and *Florentines*, he had undoubtedly been Pope. For, his own merit, the good will of the Cardinals, and the opinion of his being a fit person for the present times (besides a certain torrent which this act of *Adoration* always carries along with it) would have got him more than the two Votes he wanted.

But *Sforza* and *Montalto*, seeing the *Spaniards* and *Florentines* firm in their design to exclude him, despaired of carrying their point at that instant, and therefore thought it better to desist from the *Adoration*, and to labour by other ways to carry his Election. *Is opposed by the Spanish interest.*

But the event shew'd that their delay ruin'd the affair; because the *Spaniards* suspecting *Montalto's* design, and finding how little he wanted of bringing it about; being allow'd time to obviate it, us'd different artifices not only to confirm those who had join'd with them in the Exclusion, but to take off from the other side. *and ruin'd by delay.*

Montalto, for all this, did not lose heart, but continued steadfast to his purpose, hoping by patience, and his own authority and industry to get over the difficulties he saw in it. He was indeed much disgusted at Cardinal *del Monte* for joining with the *Spaniards*, to exclude the persons set up by him, (who were *Aldobrandini* and *Mondovi*;) and to promote the interest of such as he disliked; and for having afterwards labour'd so much for *Sanseverin* and *Paleotti*, without regard to him: But *Monte* thought, as he had (purely to oblige the Grand Duke) rejected *Santiquatro*, that *Montalto*, on the other hand, should do something for his satisfaction, and not shew himself openly averse to him and his designs.

Madruccio
sets up, but to
no purpose.

In the mean time, *Madruccio* was wrapt up in his own Expectations, seeing the great difficulties that the others (who were nam'd by the King of *Spain*) had to battle: Having therefore try'd his own strength, altho' *Sforza* declar'd against him above board, he desir'd *Montalto* to give him his interest; who answer'd, that he would speak to his Friends, and if he found them dispos'd to him, he should not want his assistance. But upon treating with them, he found above two thirds of his Party very averse to that Cardinal; he therefore, by the advice of *Morefini*, *Camericio*, and *Matthei*) gave *Madruccio* an account, that his Party would not vote for him, and therefore it was necessary to think of others.

Upon this *Madruccio* prest *Montalto* to pitch upon any of those nam'd in the King's List, and to make him Pope, by which he would at once gratify the King, satisfy his own Conscience, and establish his Reputation; because the Election being in his power, it must always be said, that it was he who made the Pope.

Montalto's
Party resolve
to oppose the
King of Spain's
List: And why.

This request of *Madruccio* being consulted by the most considerable of *Montalto's* Party, with others join'd to them, it was concluded, that they should vigorously oppose all that were in the King's List, as well to preserve the liberty of the Church, according to the antient Councils and Canons; as to keep the Papacy

Papacy out of the power of the Kings of *Spain*, who being careful preservers and improvers of what they once acquire, should the List take place in this Conclave, as it did in the last, the Kings of *Spain* would be in possession of a nomination to the *Holy See*, which they would afterwards contract to a smaller number, and the Sacred College be obliged to pitch upon one of his nomination, even against their Conscience.

They said that this usurped nomination of his Catholic Majesty was of much worse consequence than the Presentation to so many Churches and Bishopricks, (which he was in possession of, merely by grants and concessions from the Popes;) not only because the Papacy was greater in dignity than other Bishopricks, but likewise because the Pope might reject a person named by the King to a Bishoprick, if he were not fit for it; but if the King should get a privilege of having his nomination accepted to *St. Peter's Chair*, there will be no room for rejecting the persons he pitches upon, however unfit the College of Cardinals may judge them to be.

They added, that since *GOD* had been pleased to deliver his Church from the slavery it was once unjustly under (in the matter of creating Popes) by the encroachments of the ancient Emperors, they ought never to consent that it should become subject to the same practice again, with worse conditions, and under a Prince of a lower rank; because their suffering this encroachment would not only give a handle to the present Emperors, to renew their claim to the ancient practice of their Predecessors in this case, when they see that what they have often pretended to, with some colour of reason, is granted to a Prince inferior to them, but also would furnish Hereticks with new arguments against the Pope's authority.

They strengthened this Reasoning with the Novelty of the thing, in the eyes of other Princes, who would undoubtedly oppose it, and with the Example of former Conclaves; for altho' the Emperor *Charles V.* and this same *K. Philip* had, on some occasions, named Candidates, yet at other times they had

not

not named any at all; and when they did, it was only by way of Recommendation to their particular Friends and Confidents, but not as a Nomination to the Sacred College; besides that the Number was not so great, nor were even the King's Friends restrained from voting for others not in the List, provided they were such as had not received the *Exclusion*: And after all, it is well known that, in the Conclaves of *Julius III. Marcellus II. and Paul IV.* the Nominations were not only neglected, but for good Reasons they chose such as were *excluded* for Popes, as those three were: And the Reason of rejecting this Nomination was yet stronger, because it was very probable that the King of *Spain* knew nothing of it, but that it was made by his Ministers in *Rome*: His Majesty being so religious a Prince, and the Assertor and Defender of the Holy See and the Catholic Doctrine (for which the Kings of *Spain* had received the Title of *Catholic*) it was not to be thought that he would thrust his sacrilegious Hands into the Sanctuary of GOD, or disturb and hinder the free Election of the Vicar of CHRIST, to the disadvantage of Religion itself.

If any one should say that the King acted in this matter out of Zeal for Religion, the End is laudable, but the Means are bad; because GOD having left the Care of his Church chiefly to the Pope, and after him to the Cardinals, his Majesty ought to leave it to them to manage what belongs to them, and not to meddle with what is out of his Province: If any zealous Prince thinks himself obliged to do any thing for the Service of Religion, he ought to signify it to the Cardinals, and leave them to judge of the fitness of it, but not to expect that they should rule their *Consciences* by his *Passions*.

They concluded this Reasoning by observing, that this Nomination wrong'd those Cardinals that were not mentioned in it, as if they were unworthy of so high a Dignity, altho' there were many of the College, not named in the List, who were *equal* if not *superior* to those that were; besides, it was to arraign the Judgment of the College, and an Insinuation that the

King

King at a distance, and his Ministers, knew better who was fit to support so heavy a Burden, than the College of Cardinals who were upon the Spot.

In fine, they said that this was the way to make the Cardinals *Vassals* and *Clients* not only to the King of *Spain*, but to his *Ministers*, that they might get their Names set down in the List, since without that, they could not hope to be exalted to the Papacy.

For these and other Reasons they persuaded *Montalto*, that since other Cardinals, forgetting what they owed to their Rank, their Oath, and their Conscience, not only put their own Necks under the Yoke, but endeavoured to subject others to the same Slavery; and since G O D had given him Judgment, Spirit and Worth above his Age, and at the same time so much Credit and Authority in the Conclave, that it might be said he was one of the chief Governors of it; that he would therefore undertake this pious Work, and become the Head of such as were resolved to assert the liberty of the Church; that so, like another *David*, he might rescue the *Holy See* from the yoke of secular power with which it was threatened, by opposing this Nomination, and continuing firm and constant in rejecting every one that was in the List; in which generous design they promised to stand by and assist him.

Montalto overcome with these reasons; declared above board to *Madruccio*, that he would not act for any of the persons in the King's List; adding that he did this out of zeal for the service of G O D, and for protecting and maintaining the liberty of the Church: But he told him, that whenever he should think fit to give up the persons named in the List, he would unite with him in chusing a fit man, of which there were so many not mentioned by the King's Ministers. But *Madruccio* adhering to the Nomination, and *Montalto* rejecting it, both Parties set themselves with equal obstinacy to promote their different ends.

After this, *Sforza* and *Montalto*, to terrify the *Spanish* Party, set up openly for *Salviati* and *Firenza*; men indeed of worth,

Montalto declares against all that had been named by the King.

Verona set up
by Montalto,

worth, for prudence and good sense, and well acquainted with the affairs of the world, and above all other qualities, persons of gravity and uncorrupt lives: But finding greater difficulties in that matter than they knew how to get over, they dropt those Cardinals, and used all their interest for *Verona*, as a person who had many Friends in the College, and was universally beloved for his generous, disinterested temper, without either artifice or ambition; he was exemplarily religious, and had a good stock of Learning.

* Vid. Pref.

But because the *Spanish* Faction was against him as being a *Venetian*, they thought it better to promote him by way of *Scrutiny**, procuring for him many Votes for several mornings together; so that, altho' the *Spanish* Party practised strongly against him, and had for their Partisans *Gaetano*, and his great Friend Cardinal *Ascanio Colonna*, together with the *Gonzaga's*, who stuck by them in opposition to the recommendation of the Duke of *Mantua*, who was *Verona's* stanch Supporter, the affair went on so successfully, that one morning in the *Scrutiny* he had twenty four Votes, and seven more reserved themselves to accede † to him.

† Vid. Pref.

But finding that their *Accession* would not have made out the number, (some Cardinals having broken their word, and that of *acceding* not having been practised in this Conclave) they did not discover themselves.

and Paleotti by
the Spaniards.

However, this gave great apprehensions to the *Spaniards*, who, as they were very watchful to prevent *Verona's* being chosen on the one hand, so on the other they endeavoured to push the affair of *Paleotti*, who they knew was hated by *Montalto*, procuring many Votes for him in the *Scrutiny*, and reserving likewise *Acceders*, but by the care and vigilance of *Montalto*, he never arrived to above twenty Votes, as shall be shewn hereafter.

The Great Duke, hearing that *Sanseverin's* interest met with greater difficulties every day, and that *Paleotti* was opposed as an Enemy by *Montalto*, (insomuch that he would have promoted

any person rather than him) began to be under apprehensions of *Santiquatro*, especially considering the difference between *Montalto* and Cardinal *Monte*; and therefore on the one hand to secure himself against *Santiquatro*, and on the other to satisfy *Montalto*, remembering his old friendship with *Mondovi*, and believing that with his assistance he might be elected Pope, ordered *del Monte* and all his friends to join with *Montalto* for that purpose; which if *Monte* had followed (the proposal having been unforeseen by the *Spaniards*) without all doubt *Mondovi* had carried the Election: But his being so scrupulous, as first to recall his Promise given to *Madruccio* at the beginning of the Conclave, to exclude *Mondovi*, (altho' *Montalto* told him his doing so would mar the whole affair) gave warning in time to the *Spanish* Party of this new acquisition of votes to *Mondovi*, and of *Madruccio's* loss, so that this last joined *Mendoza* and others, to make one vigorous push to exclude *Mondovi*, by procuring new votes in the place of those they had lost; which they did by gaining the *Gonzaga's* (upon promising them the certain *Exclusion* of *Cremona*) and two *Gregorians*, *Lancelotti* and *Canano*, by making each of them believe that they would make him Pope; and altho' the first *Gonzaga* was excluded by the King, and the second not in the List, so powerful is a vain breath of hope, (come from whence it will, into the sails of one that steers for St. *Peter's* Chair) they swallowed the bait, and thereby made up the loss of the *Florentines* to the *Spanish* side.

The *Spaniards*, with all this, were jealous that upon *Gaetano's* entering the Conclave from *France*, the *Adoration* would happen, which perhaps might have succeeded, had he come that morning with all the Party; but his spending time to gain the *Gonzaga's*, whom he press'd upon the account of the Duke of *Mantua* and the Great Duke, but to no purpose:

At last *Montalto* himself resolved to attack them. Going therefore to them, he told them he was surprized, that when the Duke of *Mantua* and they had pressed him to give the *Ex-*

clusion to *Cremona*, whom he ought to have assisted for several reasons, and yet upon their account had declined it; instead of their paying that service with equal gratitude, by concurring with him in the person he proposed, one that was so deserving of himself, and so much their friend, and in whose favour two Princes, so closely united to them both by friendship and blood, had requested them, he could not prevail with them to give him so reasonable a satisfaction; and therefore he was obliged to declare that he would labour for *Cremona*, not thinking himself under any farther obligation to pass by him for their sakes, since they thought themselves at liberty to do what they pleased.

He did not fail to represent to them, that if they had a mind to exclude *Cremona*, they ought to have united themselves with that Party, which in all likelihood had no mind to assist him, and especially with himself, who had declared against the whole List, and not with a Party who are obliged to assist him, as being one of those named by the King, to which List they are confined: That as to the Promise they had received from *Madruccio*, they ought not to trust to it, not only for its being no other but a *Conclave Promise*, as the Proverb is, but because *Madruccio* had promised them what was contrary to the King's mind, and therefore not in his power to make good: For having his Majesty's order to make *Cremona* Pope, how could he refuse him? But if he should even oppose him (which was scarcely possible) the whole *Spanish* Faction, to whom *Olivarez* had declared the King's intentions, and who were not restrained to *Madruccio's* orders, might do it without him. He therefore advised them to consider well in time, that the measures they were taking were destructive of their designs, and that they would find it too late to discover the mind of the *Spanish* Party, when they would get nothing by it but fruitless remorse.

These and other reasons inculcated by *Montalto*, and others, were not sufficient to move the *Gonzaga's*; they thought themselves sure of *Madruccio's* inclination, that they believed he would
even

even transgress the King's orders, make a jest of the nomination; and disoblige a Cardinal subject and servant to his Majesty, and of a Family which had deserved well of that Crown. They therefore answered *Montalto*, excusing themselves for having promised to *Madruccio* to give the Exclusion to *Mondovi*, which they neither could nor would break; that as to *Cremona*, they were under no apprehensions from him, but if *Montalto* was resolved to make him Pope they would assist him.

In the mean time *Sforza*, as Head of the *Gregorians*, laboured to bring over to his Party *Canano* and *Lancelotti*, persuading them that their leaving his Party was the way to defeat their own hopes; because as long as they were joined with him, they might promise themselves not only the interest of his Party, but the assistance of *Montalto* and *Altemps* by the agreement made between them, as also that of the Great Duke's Party: Whereas by uniting themselves with the *Spaniards* to exclude one of the other Parties, they lost the interest of all the rest, without gaining that of *Spain*; for they might easily see that any promise made them by that Faction was vain, because it was not in their power to keep their word against the express orders of the King, not to assist any person but one of the seven named in the List; and if they were not under that restriction, since they could not hitherto advance any of the Cardinals named to the Chair, (every one of which, besides the interest of the *Spaniards*, had their own Friends among the other Parties) how could they expect to succeed, being either excluded expressly, or not named by the King?

And further, by declaring themselves of that Party, they lost the Heads of all the other Parties; for they might remember that it was a known maxim with the old Cardinals who were papable themselves, never to assist in the Exclusion of any one, but in conjunction with the Party to which they belong, either by choice or obligation; and therefore they would rather join with that Faction that had the smallest number of Candidates, than with the *Spaniards*, who proposed seven, and excluded all the

rest. This reasoning had little more effect with the two *Gregorians*, than *Montalto's* had had upon the *Gonzaga's*, only that one of them seemed a little more pliable, and might be brought over by another attack.

*A Push made
for Mondovi,
but does not
succeed.*

Montalto and *Sforza* being out of hopes to gain the *Gonzaga's* and two *Gregorians*, resolved to make *Mondovi* Pope by the *Scrutiny*, thinking that they might easily compels their design, because several Cardinals who (not to disoblige the *Spaniards*) refused to come to the *Adoration* in his favour, would not refuse to vote for him the other way: They therefore concerted to get XIII. Votes, which they thought to procure without much difficulty, reserving XXII. that they were sure of, to accede upon that occasion. But some of those who had promised their Votes making difficulty to give a *Counter-sign*, and *Mondovi* knowing by the example of past Conclaves, how deceitful that practice was, he would not consent to their going on with it. *Montalto* therefore set himself to procure some more Votes, in order to make a Pope without the *Spaniards*; but he could never accomplish his design, because of their diligence, accompanied often with intreaties, promises, and even threats when there was occasion.

Montalto then finding so many rubs in his way, was frequently importuned by the *Spanish* Faction, to use his interest for one of the seven; but he, by a sedateness and constancy which had nothing of youth in them, boldly defended the Liberty of the Church, and rejected their proposals, telling them that whilst they continued to adhere to the seven, he would be as constant to one of the five named by him, viz. *Firenza*, *Salviati*, *Verona*, *Mondovi*, and *Aldobrandino*.

*A Proposal
for an Union.*

Things being in this manner becalmed, and the Conclave being likely to be protracted to an intolerable length, by the obstinacy of these two Parties, to the great damage of the publick, by reason of the poverty of *Rome* and the Ecclesiastical State, and of the daily insults of the *Banditti*, fomented (as was believed) by the *Spaniards*; but above all from the consideration of the danger

danger that *France* was in; the Confidents of both Parties advis'd that, in order to avoid the inconveniencies apprehended, and to quiet the murmurs of the People, they would propose a *neutral Candidate*, to whom both Parties should give their Assistance, there being many such of Worth and Merit in the Conclave.

To this Proposal *Montalto* readily agreed, and *Madruccio*, to free himself from the Apprehensions of *Mondovi*, likewise consented.

This new Scheme reviv'd the almost dead Expectations of many of the Cardinals, giving them a new Opportunity to try their Fortunes. Of this number were *S. Gregorio*, *Arragona*, *Sans*, *Rusticucci*, *Canano*, *Lancelotti*, and *Alano*,

Many things concurr'd to fit *S. Gregorio* for the Chair. He was Dean of the Sacred College, 74 Years of age, and by reason of his Infirmities, not likely to live long. He was esteem'd a person fit to govern, and was not a stranger to the Affairs of Court; the *Spaniards* would be pleas'd with him, as being a Subject of the King's, and of a Family that had deserv'd well of the Crown; *Attemps* would not reject him being his Relation. But when *Montalto* was sound'd by Cardinal *Colonna*, who promoted his Interest, he would not declare his mind, and his greatest Confidents said, that they could not in Conscience give their Consent to his being Pope, for his want of Learning, and other Reasons.

Cardinal *d'Arragona* had the favour of the whole Sacred College, for his genteel courteous behaviour, agreeable to his Birth. He was a Man of Courage and Judgment, and was for these good Qualities belov'd and esteem'd by all; he was a faithful Servant to his Catholic Majesty; of 59 Years of age; *Montalto* had already offer'd him his Interest, as the *Spaniards* also had; but *Attemps*, who was much his Friend, having us'd his best offices with *Madruccio*, did not find that Encouragement that he expected; and those of his Party who had promis'd their votes, when it came to the push, flew off, shewing

that they had made offers to him, rather because they believ'd he would be chosen without them, or to gain him to their side, than that they intended to serve him. For which cause, and also because there were some that would have excluded him, *Arragona* himself would not let them proceed.

The Sacred College would not chuse *Sans*, because he was *Ultramontan*, being a *Frenchman*.

Rusticucci was embark'd sometimes with *Montalto*, and sometimes with the *Spaniards*, each of them giving him hopes in order to gain him to their Party; and, altho' at first sight they all seem'd to be for him, had it come to the proof he would have found insuperable Difficulties.

Canano seem'd to be well advanced in his Interest; he had many friends among the *Spaniards*, and hoped they would ingratiate him with *Madrucchio*, who thought himself oblig'd to assist him, because he had given him his word so to do when he join'd in *Mondovi's* Exclusion. *Montalto* was well affected to him for that Frankness of Temper that he had observed in him; and had let him know that he would serve him. *Sforza* likewise was for him, as being a *Gregorian*, and by a particular Affection to his Person; and therefore had always spoken in his favour to *Montalto*, and often put him in mind of him. He try'd some secret Practises for him, and many shew'd their readiness to promote him; but *Justiniani* did not love him as being a Friend to *Pinello*: He therefore advis'd *Montalto* one night, that they were carrying on *Canano's* Affair without him, and for that reason said it was requisite to give him the Exclusion; and so much the rather because he had been ready to assist in the Exclusion of such as had been proposed by *Montalto*.

but defeated by
Justiniani's
withdrawing
Montalto from
him

This prevailing with *Montalto*, destroy'd *Canano's* Hopes; for the former believing that he had disgusted *Canano* by this Exclusion, it was not prudent to assist him whom he had once offended: But *Justiniani*, not satisfy'd with this, a few days after gave him a new Exclusion himself.

Lancelotti, altho' he was 64 Years of age, and a Man of

Learning, and good Life, was not acceptable to either Party, for the reasons abovesaid; so that during the whole Conclave, there was nothing done for him, being upon the same Level with Cardinal *Como* (one of the List) who was never so much as mention'd.

Alano had some Friends who promoted his Interest, and the *Spaniards* agreed to it, but *Montalto* oppos'd him altho' he was his Creature.

During these debates, Cardinal *Albano* had one Morning, by Cardinal *Alexandrino's* means, 18 Votes in the Scrutiny, for the most part *Spaniards*; upon which *Montalto*, that he might not lose him, went after dinner to visit him, bidding him take heart, for he would make him Pope; which expression so fill'd the old Man with Joy, that to shew he was not so crazy and weak, but that he was able to support the weight of the Papacy, he would needs go out of his Cell and walk some Steps, by which effort he fell to the Ground with his own weight, and was so hurt, that he had like to have died.

Albano in hopes of being chosen, to shew his Vigour had like to have kill'd himself by a Fall.

By these several Practices it appear'd, that these neutral Candidates had greater Difficulties to struggle with, than either the seven nominated by the King, or the three set up by *Montalto*; and the *Spaniards* being amaz'd to find such Steadiness and Constancy in *Montalto*, which neither their importunity nor art could get the better of, that they might not be baffled, resolv'd to set up one of the seven; and to get off with Honour, they pitch'd upon *Colonna*, whom they knew *Montalto* would not oppose by reason of his relation to him.

Colonna again sets up,

They therefore began to labour strenuously for him, which at first gave great apprehensions, seeing the *Spaniards* were in earnest and had gain'd *Sans* and *Alano* to their Party: *Sanseverin* likewise being persuaded by his Friends, promis'd to *Africanio* to be of their side, and had a mutual promise from him, that if *Colonna* fail'd, he would use his Interest for him.

But, after all, *Altemps*, *Arragon*, *Sforza* and *Boromeo* manag'd so indefatigably against it, that they got him excluded, by the assistance of *Caraffa*, who reclaim'd *Sans* and *Alano*;

and excluded.

Alano; besides that, when it came to the push, *Montalto* did not find above 8 of his Party to join with him for *Colonna*; and even his greatest Confidants fail'd him, declaring that they could not in Conscience agree to it; so that that Cardinal lost his Hopes, and gave over the Pursuit.

In all this time there was nothing done for *Sanseverin*: For the *Spaniards* and *Florentines*, his promoters, having from the very beginning of the Conclave dexterously labour'd for him underhand, had discover'd that *Altemps*, *Alexandrino*, *Sforza* and the *Colonna's* were his powerful and bitter Enemies, and *Montalto* little better, unless when necessity forc'd him to shew some Complaisance for the sake of others, more than for his own inclination; However, even that forced behaviour giving Apprehensions to the others of his joining, at last, with the Favourers of *Sanseverin*, they took care to secure his Exclusion, in case *Montalto* should assist him.

The Spaniards
labour for
Sanseverin.

The *Spaniards* therefore trying to gain particular Cardinals, found them all prepossess'd, and so fix'd in their opinions, that they had not the least expectation of being able to move them by the Persuasions of *Olivarez*, or the Authority of the King or Great Duke; so that they thought it was best to be silent in that affair, it being the common opinion, that since there never was seen in any Conclave a closer agreement among the Heads of Parties, in the Exclusion of any person, than in this of *Sanseverin*, his Hopes were quite blown; and therefore that his Promoters should give over all thoughts of it.

But things happen very contrary to appearances, and to the Opinions of Men. For altho' *Sanseverin's* Party seem'd to outward appearance to have laid aside their Design, yet in secret they had not dropt it. There were five or six amongst them so warm in his Interest, and so bent upon exalting him to the Papacy, that they had no scope but that, and apply'd themselves with such diligence to it, that there was no Art which they did not try to effect it, not losing Courage for any difficulty or shock that they met with; but on the contrary,
the

the more and greater obstacles they saw in their way, the more their Industry was exercis'd in removing them; and because the protracting time was an advantage to them, they were pleas'd to see how many Intrigues were manag'd in favour of others, upon the discovery of every one of which they endeavoured to hinder them; that so by augmenting the Difficulties, with regard to others, they might lessen their own.

They still kept up the Hopes of their Friends, and made it their constant study to confirm such as were wavering, and to gain their Enemies; profiting in that by the Exclusion, or Cession of the others. They were at great pains to take off the false Impressions of some, and to abate the Force of the most inveterate of his Enemies. In a word, they left no stone unturn'd that might be of any Advantage to their Cause.

But knowing that all their Efforts would be to no purpose, unless they could gain at least one Head of an opposite Party; and finding that they could not hope to prevail with *Altemps*, because he had resisted all the Solicitations made him by *Monte* in the great Duke's Name, they turn'd their thoughts to *Montalto*, who as he had the greatest Power, so they believ'd he would be the easiest gain'd: And altho' they knew that he had been averse to their Design from the beginning, and that he was in a Confederacy with *Sforza* to advance a *Gregorian*, and that he had promis'd to that Cardinal, as also to *Altemps* and *Colonna* to oppose *Sanseverin*; yet they persuaded themselves, that by Artifice, Assiduity, Reasons and Entreaties, they should be able to bring him to their Party, and by his Assistance make *Sanseverin* Pope.

But seeing that he was not like to be conquer'd by frequent Attacks, they determin'd to get the better of him by a close Siege: And they prest him the more eagerly upon the great Difficulties which appear'd in *Mondovi's* Affair.

There were amongst those Managers, several Creatures of *Montalto's*, and some who were his greatest Confidants, such

as *Gaetano*, *Sauli*, *Gallo*, *Matthei* and *Justiniano*; but their chief Dependence was upon *Monte*, who was to interpose the Authority of the Great Duke. These constantly importun'd *Montalto* by Arguments and Prayers, to join in *Sanseverin's* Interest: They represented to him the Difficulties which attended those he had set up; his own Interest in obliging the Secular Princes; the Danger he was in of having *Paleotti* put upon him, of whom he had so just cause of Jealousy; the grateful return he might expect from *Sanseverin*, not only upon the account of his present Service in promoting his Election, but as he was his Uncle's Creature, promoted and employ'd by him, and from whom he had never receiv'd any ill usage, but on the contrary, Favours and Benefits; the Service he would do to the Great Duke, whose Interest it was to do all in his Power to establish the Greatness of the *Montalto* Family; the Satisfaction it would be to his own Conscience in making so good a Man Pope, at a time when the Necessities of Christendom required such a one; and lastly, the gratifying so many of his own Creatures, (who were all as anxious to promote his Interest as himself was, and) who desired the Advancement of *Sanseverin*, not with an Intention to take to themselves the Glory of having made him Pope, but to have the Honour to be led by him, under whose Ensigns they put themselves by their own free choice, and were resolv'd to fight under his Banner, both in this and all future Conclaves.

Altho' *Montalto* stood fixed to his former Resolution, yet he could not openly give a repulse to so many of his Friends, lest he should disgust them, and perhaps lose some of them: He therefore answered them in ambiguous terms, sometimes giving them Hopes, and at other times cutting them off; endeavouring to break off the Conversation, and to interpose Delays, and when he was prest he made Excuses. At last, after many days reasoning, being forced to lay aside generals, and to speak plain, he answered them, that he could not assist *Sanseverin* for many Reasons, but especially upon account of the *Colonna* Family his Relations,

tions, who had made pressing Requests to him to assist them; upon this *Rusticucci* asking him whether he would have concurr'd to make any of the *Colonna's* Pope if occasion had offer'd? *Montalto* finding himself catch'd, was oblig'd to answer, that he would.

Upon *Colonna's* being a second time propos'd by his Friends, *Sanseverin* was solicited by his Party, to promise his Assistance *Sanseverin promises his Interest to Colonna, and gets a reciprocal Promise from him.* to Cardinal *Ascanio*, which he did, having receiv'd a reciprocal promise from him of his Interest, in case he should not succeed himself. But that this new Acquisition of *Sanseverin* to *Colonna's* Party might be of no use to him, at the same time that the *Spaniards* were negotiating for him in earnest, five of *Montalto's* Party who had join'd *Colonna* the first time, deserted him now; so that by gaining one he lost five, which made a good jest.

Colonna being thus excluded, *Ascanio's* Promise to assist *Sanseverin* was claim'd, which he shewing his readiness to make good, went himself to sollicite for him, and even desir'd *Montalto's* Interest, which gave Umbrage to the opposite Party, lest he should be brought over; which *Madruccio* encreas'd, by telling them that *Matthai* had been enquiring what number of Votes he would be sure of in his Party for *Sanseverin*; so that they dispersed themselves thro' the Conclave to procure the Exclusion, having (to counter-balance *Ascanio Colonna*, who solicited for *Sanseverin*) the old Cardinal *Colonna*, who not only made himself be carried from Cell to Cell, but likewise prest *Montalto* to oppose him: And at the same time Signior *Martio Colonna*, and the Constable, with the Assistance of Signiora *Camilla*, and Don *Michael* were busy without doors for the same purpose. And altho' this Opposition was sufficient to have excluded *Sanseverin*, even if *Montalto* had voted for him, yet to confirm him in his Opposition, and to cut off the Hopes of *Sanseverin's* Party for ever after, they resolv'd to constitute a Congregation, to which they call'd all *Montalto's* Creatures who were for *Sanseverin*, which his

Friends being inform'd of, that they might not lose their Hopes, persuaded *Montalto*, that it was not proper, for several reasons, that the Creatures should declare themselves; which he agreeing to, sent one of his Conclavists to every one of them, to desire them in his Name to desist.

The opposite Party being confirm'd by this in their former Jealousy, held their Congregation the next Morning by break of day, in the Room call'd the *Sala Regia*, to which Assembly came the old Cardinal *Colonna*, the Cardinals *Gesualdo*, *Altamps*, *Alexandrino*, *Scipio Gonzaga*, *Sforza*, and *Boromeo*: Where after many Speeches made against *Sanseverin*, every Cardinal offer'd three Votes besides his own for his Exclusion, which amounted to 28. altho' *Montalto* should be for him. So that his Election being opposed by three Parties, and by *Castruccio*, *Cozenza* and *Rovere*, it was the general Opinion, that so publick a Declaration against him, by the chief Cardinals of the Conclave, would have cool'd the Courage of his Partisans, and have made them give over the Attempt.

In the mean time, the *Spaniards* us'd Threats without doors, and Entreaties within, to bring *Montalto* to give his Interest to one of the seven named in their List; but all to no purpose: For he kept firm to his first Design of promoting *Mondovi*, and us'd all his Interest with *Sforza* to gain some of those who excluded him, in order to persuade them to join in making him Pope by way of *Adoration*, without the *Spaniards*: Believing that it might be easily brought about, because he had observ'd that several of those who had excluded him had made Apologies for their having done it, not only to him, but to *Mondovi* himself; by saying, that altho' they ought in Conscience to have voted for him, they durst not do it, for fear of disobliging the *Spaniards*; and likewise because he had discover'd both in them and in others a secret Inclination to have assisted him if it had come to the push; and it appear'd, that even *Madruccio* and *Mendoza* acted against their Minds and Consciences in opposing him.

*Montalto's
works to elect
Mondovi,*

*but is disap-
pointed.*

But

But *Montalto* could never bring this Project to perfection, because when they thought they had a sufficient number to make the *Adoration* the next day, some way or other it was discovered, and the *Spaniards* overturned their whole Scheme, and got the Exclusion secure.

The *Spaniards* therefore finding that all their Artifices could not move *Montalto*, resolved to set up *Paleotti*; not only because they thought he was likeliest to succeed, of any of the seven, having the Interest of the Great Duke, and of the Cardinals *Altemps*, *Alexandrino*, the two *Colonna's*, and the two *Gonzaga's*, but likewise because they knew he was hated by *Montalto*; thinking by keeping him in constant apprehensions of *Paleotti*, to make him give up *Mondovi*, and incline to *Sanseverin*, or *Madruccio*. *The Spaniards set up Paleotti, to frighten Montalto to chuse Sanseverin.*

And that this Artifice might not be discovered to *Montalto* or his Friends, (who observed the least motion of the Cardinals) they resolved to manage it by night, by those Conclavists in whom the Cardinals most confided, that being the way to have it less suspected: And because there were thirty Cardinals who had owned that they had given their word to *Montalto* to oppose *Paleotti*, and therefore excused themselves to the *Spaniards*; many of them were desired to give their Votes secretly, which they promised to do.

This Intrigue was so secretly managed, that *Montalto* knew nothing of it till about half an hour before they were to begin the *Scrutiny* that morning; about which time, *Caraffa* having disclosed the matter to *Sanseverin*, and begg'd his Vote, he to gratify *Montalto*, sent him advice of it immediately, who in the small space of time left him, with the assistance of *Sforza* and the *Gregorians*, fixed the Exclusion in such a manner, that *Paleotti* had that morning but twenty one Votes: And tho' the *Spaniards* boasted that they had thirteen who did not discover themselves, because they saw they were deficient; it was thought that this Rodomontade was only to frighten *Montalto*, who seeing the Tricks of the *Spaniards* by this one instance, was more vigilant: *Paleotti near being Pope, but is excluded by Montalto.*

vigilant for the future, visiting his Friends every night, to keep them staunch to him, and finding out whom they were to vote for; which the *Spaniards* also did on their part, for fear of a Pope that was excluded by them.

But by a pique
of Montalto's
Party recovers
himself:

But what they could not accomplish by trick or management, they had like to have brought about by pique and disgust, occasioned by an unforeseen accident which happened that very day. Cardinal *Camerino*, altho' he was a Favourer of *Sanseverin*, had always advised *Montalto* to oppose the seven named in the List, but this day he changed his mind; for beginning now to interest himself in *Sanseverin's* expectations, and believing that if *Montalto* declared for any of the seven, it must be for him, told him in general, that there was a necessity to make one of the seven Pope, and that it would be proper for him to leave the Conclave, because it was thought his fault that they had been kept there so long.

Montalto surprized at this sudden change, that he might confound the Cardinal from his own words, or else being resolved to do as he said, answered, That since it was come to that, he could not confide in any of the seven, but in Cardinal *Colonna*, altho' he had promised not to espouse him.

Camerino, full of fear and remorse at this Answer of *Montalto*, went immediately and reported it to *Sauli*, who discovered it to *Sforza* and *Gaetano*; and they believing it to be true, were so piqued at *Montalto*, that to save themselves from the apprehensions of *Colonna's* being Pope, they offered their Votes to the *Spaniards* for *Paleotti*, who was desired to stay in his Cell, because they intended to proceed to the *Adoration*.

And is again
disappointed
by Montalto.

But *Montalto* being apprized of it, went directly to *Gaetano*, *Sforza*, and *Sauli*, telling them why he had given that Answer to *Camerino*, and undeceiving them, he reunited himself with *Sforza*, promising both to him and the others, that he would not assist *Colonna*; and thus they secured themselves of *Paleotti* for that time, and likewise freed *Camerino* from an apprehension into which he had been led by his own fault; for in order to

serve

serve one whom he liked, he had run the hazard of stumbling upon two equally displeasing to him.

However, from this time *Montalto* began to decline in his credit; for whereas before he had always appeared at the head of his Party, fearless, and proof against all attacks, tricks and threats, he seemed upon this occasion fearful of *Paleotti*, and that a false report was sufficient to put his Party in disorder and confusion.

Eight days pass'd without one step made by either side; for the *Spaniards* hoped that *Montalto* in this consternation would be inclined to one of their seven, as he seemed to have hinted to *Arragona*, and they thought it must be *Madruccio*, *Colonna* having been excluded by several Cardinals, *Como* and *Paleotti* by *Montalto*, *Sanseverin* by many Heads of Parties, and *Santi-quatro* and *Cremona* by the Great Duke.

But he being at this time only intent upon the Exclusion of *Paleotti*, and being advised by the Great Duke's Party to keep firm against all the seven, upon their promise to oppose *Paleotti*, took heart, and declared a-new against the whole List, affirming that he had never had any other intention.

This affronted *Madruccio* to the last degree, who had of late conceived great hopes of his own advancement; and therefore not to be wanting to the King's interest and his own, he talked with *Montalto* in the *Paulin* Chapel, where taking him aside, he told him there were Complaints from all Quarters, and nothing was heard but the cries of the poor people, who groan'd under Famine, the Oppression of the Banditti, and the stoppage of all kind of Commerce and Business, and many other Inconveniences, all occasioned by the tedious length of the Conclave; so that if ever there was reason to hasten the Election of a Pope, this was the time, when the Ecclesiastical State was in manifest hazard, together with all Christendom: That therefore he would not fail in his duty to exhort him to have regard to the many Calamities, which could not be remedied but by the sudden Creation of a Pope; and that being
entirely

entirely in his power, he recommended to him to pitch upon any one of the seven named by the King, and he should be Pope: By doing so he would give satisfaction to the World, quiet his own Conscience, and please a King, who having merited so well of the Holy See and the Catholic Religion, deserved to be rewarded with that small favour, for which, he assured him (and would become Guarantee himself) his Majesty would be very grateful, and always acknowledge the Obligation: Whereas on the other hand the King would think himself highly offended if he was not complied with in this, and if *Montalto* continued in his former obstinacy to reject his Recommendation; and in that case he protested that the prolonging the Election was all chargeable upon him, and not upon the King or *Madrucchio*, because if he pleased he might immediately proceed to the Election; and upon this he proposed several Cardinals, all good men.

To this Discourse of *Madrucchio*, *Montalto* answered, That as he knew and had great compassion for the Miseries of the Ecclesiastical State, so he had endeavoured what was in his power to hasten the Election of the Pope, and that he might be such as would remove the Troubles; and altho' hitherto it had not succeeded, he had the same inclination: And if he (*Madrucchio*) would shew the same readiness, perhaps they might go out of the Conclave that very day. But he could not by any means pitch upon any of the seven, for the reasons already given, and because he would not have a hand in subjecting the sacred College to such a grievous Yoke as the limiting the Election of the Vicar of CHRIST to the pleasure of a secular Prince; that by refusing to act in that manner, he not only was not afraid to offend the King, to whom he had always profess'd himself a faithful and obliged Servant, but he thought he did his Majesty Service in it, knowing him to be so much a Catholic, and so religious and conscientious, that he would not think that, in the Creation of the Pope, he ought to interfere, or to dissent from that method which had been prescribed by the HOLY GHOST

to the Popes and lawful Councils; but rather as the eldest Son of the Holy See, and the Protector of the Dignity and Authority of it, his Majesty could not have a more glorious view than to take care that the Election of the Pope should not be forced, but free and lawful; so that whilst he (*Montalto*) had the same intention that the King had, he designed it as a Service to his Majesty.

If therefore *Madruccio* would give up the seven, and pitch upon any other he pleased, among so many as remained, he would immediately concur with him in making him Pope; but if he refused to do so, he protested before God, the College, and the World, that his obstinacy was the cause of protracting the Election to the prejudice of the Publick; considering that whereas he (*Madruccio*) named only seven, excluding all the rest, he on the other hand named all the rest of the College, to the number of forty seven, and only excluded seven. Among which forty seven there were many persons not inferior in any respect to any other whatsoever, and therefore to persist in restraining the choice to seven out of fifty four, was a violence to Men's Consciences, in making them declare none worthy of the Papacy but those seven.

Madruccio was no less confounded than displeased at this Answer, but for all that his Party would needs try to promote his Interest; which coming to the hearing of *Firenza*, he, assisted by *Morefino*, *Camerino*, *Justiniani*, and *Sforza*, boldly gave him the Exclusion; and jesting upon what *Madruccio* without any reason had done to him some days before, said, *What he did to me by night, I have paid him back by day; he made me give over thoughts of the Papacy, but I have made him not only think of it, but have put him upon using all his Art to get it.*

The *Spaniards* being now out of hopes of carrying *Madruccio's* Election, came back to *Paleotti*, thinking by this either to frighten or tire *Montalto*; but soon after they dropt him to promote *Sanseverin*, having conceived new hopes of him, because when it was believed that his Friends were quite discouraged by the ill

Madruccio set up, but is excluded by Sforza and others, at the Instigation of Firenza.

Madruccio dropt to make way for Sanseverin.

success they had had, they found them bolder and more vigorous than ever; which as it was wonder'd at by all, so it made many think that they either surpassed all others in Prudence and Intelligence, and that they alone had discovered what was a secret to other people; or else that they were doating through Ambition, and took real difficulties for helps, and far-off hopes for near securities.

Not thinking therefore that the Congregation held in the *Sala Regia*, or the contradiction of so many Heads, would be any stop to his Advancement, provided they could gain *Montalto*; they used all their power with greater importunity than formerly, and contrived new arts to get from him as it were by Force, what they did not expect from him by Inclination.

Monte very
eager in his
Promotion.

He that shewed greatest earnestness and vigour in this was Cardinal *del Monte*, who (having from the very beginning written to the Great Duke, that *Sanseverin* might be Pope by *Montalto's* Assistance, and during the whole Conclave had confirmed the same in all his Letters) shewed a particular warmth and eager desire to effect it, that he might acquire more credit with his Highness, and that he might shew to him and to the world his Judgment and Address in this Affair.

Having then by his agreeable manner become intimate with *Montalto*, he kept close to him, and using all the Arguments he was master of to carry his point, he sometimes laboured one way, sometimes another, to the same end, not forgetting to use the Great Duke's Name and Authority, as occasion offered, intermixing Prayers and Intreaties with his Arguments; so that he on one hand, and the other Friends of *Sanseverin* on the other, tried all arts to gain upon *Montalto*. But seeing at last the apprehension he had been in of *Paleotti's* Success, and that it was in their power to increase his Fear that way, they concluded that when he should find himself in danger of *Paleotti*, he would fly with eagerness to advance any other, to save himself from him; and since he neither could nor ought to assist *Santi-quatro* or *Cremona*, because he had promised the contrary, and
that

that he would not disoblige those Princes that had excluded them: Nor would he be for *Colonna*, *Como*, or *Madruccio*, because the first had made two Attempts by his Assistance already, the second was not suspected by *Paleotti*, and the third, besides *Montalto's* own private Interest, had two thirds of his Creatures his Enemies. And therefore in such a case he must necessarily pitch upon *Sanseverin*, and so much the rather, because by doing so he freed himself from the danger he apprehended of having a Pope an Enemy to his Family, and at the same time obliged two Princes, and many of his own Creatures who desired the Exaltation of that Cardinal.

But such of the Cardinals as were disinterested, and were not led by passion, were of a quite opposite opinion, and upon better grounds. They allowed that *Montalto* had reason to secure himself against *Paleotti*, but could not think that, to avoid that danger, he would assist *Sanseverin*, because by doing so he broke his Word more than once given to *Colonna*, Signior *Martio*, and the *Constable*, by which he would not only disoblige a Family who were his Relations, but likewise occasion the Ruin of another into which his Sister was married; he would grieve his Grandmother Signiora *Camilla*, who had often prayed and conjured him not to give that Cardinal his Interest; he would displease several of his own Party, who having openly declared against *Sanseverin*, must be undone if he should be Pope; he would lose *Altemps*, who was his Friend, and had shewed himself so firm in his Interest, that he had promised him not to vote for *Paleotti*, altho' he was the Creature of his Uncle *Pius IV.* He would likewise fail in two Promises made to *Sforza*, (one of which was to oppose *Sanseverin*, and the other to make a *Gregorian* Pope) by which he would offend a person who was his true Friend, who had stuck by him in using his Interest for all the Candidates he had espoused, and in excluding all that he disliked; he must for ever lose all the Assistance that these two Cardinals had promised him in the next Conclave, in order to make one of his Uncle's Creatures Pope; he must likewise in-

cur the imputation of Treachery and Ingratitude, in having disgusted those who had assisted him to exclude *Paleotti*, and to promote others who were acceptable to him. Besides that, *Montalto* for his private Interest ought to oppose *Sanseverin*, for the very same reasons that induced him from the beginning to exclude him: And farther, comparing the Tempers of *Paleotti* and *Sanseverin*, the last was more dangerous to him than the first, because *Paleotti* was of a quiet, composed, considerate Disposition, but *Sanseverin* of a morose, fiery and hasty Temper; to which natural Disposition if the suggestions of Count *d'Olivarez* (the great Friend of that Cardinal, and mortal Enemy to *Sixtus's* Memory) were added, strange things might ensue. Finally, considering that *Montalto* could not be sure of making *Sanseverin* Pope, if he should attempt it, upon account of the great obstruction that his not being beloved by the sacred College occasioned him, and that his Enemies thought they were sure of his Exclusion, he ought not to run such a risque, for should *Sanseverin* miscarry after he had given him his Interest, he might reasonably conclude that *Sforza*, *Altemps*, the *Colonna's*, and many of his own Creatures, thinking themselves banter'd and affronted by him, would out of pique give their Interest to *Paleotti*; so that whilst he endeavoured to shun danger, he would run into the mouth of it, and every one would say he deserved it.

For these reasons they concluded that *Montalto*, in order to avoid the Danger he apprehended in *Paleotti's* Advancement, would not join with *Sanseverin*, but either with *Santiquatro* or *Cremona*; and that the Cardinals *Monte* and the *Gonzaga's* took the readiest way to put him upon chusing one of them, by pressing the Affair of *Paleotti*; because whenever he was under any Apprehension from him, he would give his Interest to one whom he could most easily make Pope; and either *Santiquatro* or *Cremona* being sure of succeeding (because, besides the *Montalto* Party and the *Spaniards*, they had three other Chiefs, *Sforza*, *Altemps*, and *Alexandrino*, who were all Enemies to
Sanse-

Sanseverin) he would undoubtedly use his Interest for one of them; by which he not only would gain his End, but would keep his word with the *Colonna's* and *Sforza*, and oblige both *Sforza* and *Altemps* at the same time; and engage them to stand by him in the next Conclave; he would acquire the name of a grateful honest Man, and a Man of Honour; which upon other Occasions would be of great use to him: And in fine, he would make a Pope of a sincere, grateful and affable Temper, such as he could desire for his own Interest, both those Cardinals having been encourag'd, or, at least, not ill us'd by his Uncle; and either of them he should chuse, would be the more oblig'd to him, as having past over all Consideration of their having been excluded by Princes.

Nor indeed ought one to have regard to Princes, but in as far as it can be shewn without one's own Ruin; for in such cases every Man is to consult his own Safety, before the Satisfaction of Relations, Patrons, or Friends; as a Man is to be excus'd, who, to shun a mortal Wound, aim'd at himself, cuts the finger of a Friend.

Besides the great Duke, and the Duke of *Mantua*, having by their Managers in the Conclave, assisted *Paleotti* above board, who was *Montalto's* Enemy, perhaps to free themselves from the Apprehensions of *Santiquatro* and *Cremona*; it was as lawful for him to use their own Weapons against them, and, to save himself from *Paleotti*, join with one of the others; especially considering that *Paleotti's* being Pope would be of worse consequence to *Montalto*, than the Advancement of *Santiquatro* or *Cremona* could be to the Dukes of *Tuscany* or *Mantua*.

With these and such like reasonings they not only answer'd those of the favourers of *Sanseverin*, but turn'd several Cardinals to *Santiquatro* or *Cremona's* Party. And altho' both these Cardinals were papable, yet they were either despis'd or overlook'd by *Monte* and the *Gonzaga's*, who were bent upon gaining *Montalto*, and so to make *Sanseverin* Pope.

*Montalto press
by his Friends
to assist Sanse-
verin, dexte-
rously evades
it;*

To effect this, they endeavour'd to augment *Montalto's* fear of *Paleotti*, by representing to him every day the Danger he was in; and some of his own Party, who favour'd that Election, went so far as to tell him, that unless he declar'd for *Sanseverin* they could not in Conscience refuse their Interest to the other. Infomuch, that the young Cardinal being prest by Importunity, Fear, Threats, and Prayers, was oblig'd to keep them in Hopes, and did it so dexterously, that sometimes he seem'd pliable, and sometimes well inclin'd to their Design; but still he interpos'd delays.

This manner of dealing they took for a Promise, and thinking themselves therefore secure, they told all *Sanseverin's* Friends that he was Pope, and nam'd the first of *December* for declaring him. The opposite Faction having notice of this, and believing that this could not be without some Intention or Promise of *Montalto*, they doubted that he had been gain'd by the *Spaniards*; and altho' *Montalto* deny'd it to *Sforza*, who prest him earnestly upon it, yet he did it after such a manner as encreas'd the suspicion; so that not trusting him, the Party watch'd him narrowly, especially *Cosenza*, who was the mortal Enemy of *Sanseverin*, and intimate with *Montalto*, and had the next Cell to his.

which makes
his Party jea-
lous of him.

This Cardinal then seeing some Movement on the 29th of *November* at night, was perswaded that *Montalto* was gone over to the *Spaniards*; of which, about one a clock in the morning, he advertis'd *Sforza*, and he again told it to *Alexandrino*, and he to *Colonna*; so that in an instant the Conclave was in an Uproar; and these three Cardinals met in *Altemps's* Cell, to treat of his Exclusion, in case *Montalto* declar'd for him; being sure of 24 Votes against him, and those the best in the Conclave, viz. seven of *Pius IV.* two of *Pius V.* nine of *Gregory XIII.* and six of *Sixtus V.*

This done, they went all together to *Madruccio*, assuring him, that if he went on with this Affair, they would set up one excluded by his Majesty. After this, they continu'd all that

that day upon the Watch, that they might be sure of the Exclusion.

In the mean time, old *Colonna* went to *Montalto*, and putting him in mind of the Promise made to him and the Constable, desired the Performance of it; because if *Sanseverin* should be Pope, he would extirpate their Family, to whom he had born a mortal hatred ever since the time of *Paul IV.* besides, that *Caraffa* their Enemy would govern the Papacy, and stir him up to do them Mischief.

But *Colonna* not being able to draw out of him a positive Answer, the Jealousy of the opposite Party encreas'd so, that they were afraid that by *Montalto's* joining with *Sanseverin's* Party, they might proceed to a sudden Adoration, and by his Authority draw several of those who had promised not to go, especially some of his own Creatures, and some old ones who wanted Courage.

The last day of *November* they were in great Fear, so that if *Montalto* had design'd really to assist *Sanseverin*, he could not have a better Opportunity.

Alexandrino, to free himself from this Apprehension, and *Mondovi* to lay hold of this occasion to serve his old Friend *Mondovi*,^{gain set up,} propos'd to make a *Diversion*, knowing he was acceptable to *Montalto*, and that he would give up *Sanseverin* for him: Which Expedient *Altemps*, *Arragon* and *Sforza* approving, they try'd the Inclinations of such of the *Spanish* Party as were not for *Sanseverin*; and some of them coming into it, the *Diversion* was propos'd to *Montalto*, who readily promis'd 20 Votes. And many thought *Mondovi's* Promotion certain, having that day 40 Votes for the *Diversion*. But among the *Spaniards*, who were against *Sanseverin*, there being some who had greater hopes than ever of being elected themselves, were shy of joining with the rest. And some of *Montalto's* Party^{but in vain.} not being inclin'd to this *Diversion*, went and discover'd it to *Mendoza*, who going about till one a clock in the morning secur'd anew *Mondovi's* Exclusion, and so hinder'd the *Diversion* to go on.

Montalto

Montalto de-
clares openly
against Sanse-
verin.

Montalto being baited both by *Sanseverin's* Friends and Enemies, with equal Importunity, could not resist such contrary Assaults, and therefore resolv'd to yield to the most reasonable side: And to that end, he declared publicly that he would not assist *Sanseverin*, and gave his word upon it to the *Colonna's*, *Attemps* and *Sforza*, *Arragon* and *Cosenza*; which effectually destroy'd that Cardinal's Hopes.

and promises
to promote one
of the seven.

This Declaration oblig'd *Montalto* to hasten the Election, and put him under some necessity of giving his Interest to one of the seven, lest the *Spaniards* should set up *Paleotti*, and lest some of his own Creatures who had favour'd *Sanseverin* might go over to the other. Having then resolv'd within himself to pitch upon one of the List, he went and declar'd it openly to *Madruccio*, but took time to determine himself as to the Person. When he was by himself, he weigh'd which of the seven he should make choice of, calculating all the different regards of Interest, Difficulties, and Promises which concurr'd in every one of them: This made him very irresolute, because he was desirous at once to please the great Duke, and the Duke of *Mantua*, to gratify *Attemps* and *Sforza*; to please the *Colonna's*; and to rid himself of *Paleotti*; to acquit himself to his Party, and keep up his Interest with them; and, at the same time, not to break his word to any one. It was a difficult matter to accomplish these different Ends in any of them, and it was almost impossible to tell which of the seven was least hurtful, or more eligible.

In this uncertainty he had some thoughts of fixing upon *Madruccio*, (altho' he knew he was not acceptable to his Party) because he was not only not hated by any secular Prince, and therefore not excluded by any of them, but he serv'd the King of *Spain*, and would be most acceptable to him; but afterwards he told some of that Party, and perhaps that Cardinal himself, that if his Creatures rejected him, they would, to exclude him, run in with *Paleotti* whom he detested.

But

But the *Spaniards*, who hop'd that *Montalto* would give him his Interest, prest him much to chuse one of the seven, and to name the Person; and *Montalto* answering, that he chose *Colonna*, as thinking that they continued in their good Inclinations towards him, *Madruccio* gave an account immediately to *Colonna's* opposites, who piqued at it, resolv'd to give a Diversion in favour of *Paleotti*; and *Arragon* went about seven a clock at night to give *Madruccio* an account of it; who, perhaps, not having lost hopes of his own Election, or for some other reason, would not agree to it; for if he had *Paleotti* had been Pope that night.

Paleotti near being chosen again, but is prevented by Madruccio.

Arragon not pleas'd at this, went to *Montalto*, and having his promise not to chuse *Colonna*, he on the contrary, with *Sforza* and *Altemps*, engag'd to stand fixed in opposition to *Paleotti*: Of which the *Spaniards* being informed, and considering that *Montalto* being by his mutual promise secure of *Paleotti's* Exclusion, would not declare what Person he was for; so soon they resolved to make a secret and strong Effort in behalf of *Paleotti* that very night, procuring a great number of Votes for him in the Scrutiny; which they believ'd would have one of these two Effects; either to make him Pope, or to strike such a Terror in *Montalto* as should oblige him to concur with *Madruccio*.

Applying themselves therefore to some of *Montalto's* Party who had been dissatisfy'd with him for opposing *Sanseverin*, particularly *Gaetano* and *Sauli*, they gave into it with wonderful eagerness; in the Management of which they found less Difficulty than they had imagin'd, many Accidents concurring to it that assisted them much; for many Cardinals offer'd them their Votes, because they were tir'd of the long Conclave, and the Inconveniencies which attended it; others to be reveng'd on *Montalto* for rejecting *Sanseverin*; some again came into it to frighten him over to their side; others to secure themselves from the Fear of *Colonna*, and many to prevent *Sanseverin's* being elected; and many likewise to secure themselves against

Another Effort made for Paleotti by the Spaniards.

Montalto's
Diligence to
prevent it.

Santiquatro and *Cremona*, of which last were the *Florentines* and the *Gonzaga's*;

But *Montalto* being inform'd of the *Spaniards* Practices for *Paleotti*, went about till one in the morning, to get the Exclusion, and by the Assistance of *Sforza* and the *Gregorians*, thought himself secure. So that having supp'd, he went to bed in great quiet of mind.

But in the morning early, he and *Sforza* were inform'd that the *Spaniards* boasted they had 40 Votes, and that they began to pack up their Baggage, and particularly the Conclavists of *Paleotti* had put their Plate to be kept in the Cell of *Austria*; wherefore both the Cardinals getting out of bed in great haste, went to secure the Exclusion; and altho' they were put in mind, that the best way to be sure, was to have a Meeting in *Montalto's* Cell, they gave no orders about it, thinking themselves sure without that.

The *Spaniards* in the mean time were cock sure, and shew'd themselves very pleasant: But one of these Parties must of necessity be deceiv'd; and *Montalto* thought they made these Appearances out of Artifice, to oblige him out of fear to apply to *Madruccio*; because, had they known that they were sure of a sufficient number of Votes, it was their business at that time, rather to conceal than to divulge it.

However it being better in such Danger to be esteem'd a little cowardly, than foolish, that he might not be deceiv'd, he desir'd *Gesualdo* to beg of *Madruccio* to desist for that morning, promising to use his Interest for one of the seven; which *Madruccio* refus'd, perhaps, because he had not promis'd his Interest for him, as he believ'd he would have done; for undoubtedly he ought to have at once accepted the Proposal; which would have rais'd his Credit with his own Party. Notwithstanding this repulse, *Sforza* and *Montalto* taking Courage, enter'd the Chapel, with a firm Resolution not to leave their Seats till *Paleotti* had 36 Votes.

After Mass they went to their Desks, and the doors were shut, there

there being strange buzzing in the Conclave; for they affirm'd confidently that the Pope was made. Some took down the Furniture of the Cells, and others run to the *Sala Regia* to wait for the Confirmation. Thus as all people were in suspense, one could see in their Faces signs of the different Passions of Joy and Fear. *Paleotti misses*

When the Votes were first given and then read, it was *of being Pope*, found that *Paleotti* had XVII. then they came to the Accessions, a thing that had not been done before that day; which created some Jealousy in *Sforza* and *Montalto*. The first that acceded was *Gesualdo*, the second *Alexandrino*, the third *Madruccio*, then followed, one by one, *Sans*, *Sanseverin*, *Pezza*, *Caraffa*, *Fierenza*, *Spinola*, *Alano*, *Mendoza*, *Ascanio Colonna*, and *Matthei*; to the number of XIII. of which number *Alexandrino*, *Fierenza* and *Ascanio Colonna* had promised to *Montalto* neither to vote nor accede. But when every one thought they had done, *Simoncello* got up from another Quarter, and made the 14th Accessor, altho' he had likewise promised the contrary; which turned *Montalto's* Suspicions into Terror, reasonably believing that there were more to come, (altho' this had been done on purpose.) For *Mendoza* at that instant put the Desk from before him, and to frighten *Montalto*, moved some steps forward to make the *Adoration*; but not being seconded by any one, and being likewise told that there was no occasion for that as yet, because the number was not complete, he was fain to return to his place.

Paleotti's Affair was brought to such a pass, that they reckon'd one Accession more would have made him Pope; for if he could have made sure of 34 or 35 Accessions, those with his own had completed the number. *Paleotti* seeing himself so near the Chair, that he might not be wanting to himself, on that occasion, pray'd *Como* who was near him, to beg of old *Colonna* to accede to him, and likewise of *Arragon*; but neither the one nor the other would stir; however *Geraldo*, who was *Capo d'Ordine*, order'd the Bell to be rung, hoping by that delay that some other would accede.

only by one.

But *Arragon*, *Sforza* and *Montalto* getting up, commanded the Door to be open'd; so that the Conclavists entering the Chapel, the Scrutiny ended. *Montalto* went out no less joyful than triumphant, not only for having got the victory, but for having shew'd such Intrepidity in the greatest Danger he ever had been in.

The *Spaniards*, notwithstanding this, did not forbear to renew the attack at night, thinking it an easy matter to procure the two Votes they wanted, *Paleotti* himself labouring in it with them; and they boasted publicly that they had made sure of them. *Montalto* seeing himself again in Danger from the Scrutiny (for he was not afraid of the Adoration, because the *Florentines*, *Mantuan*s, and the *non sicuri* of his own Party had promis'd not to join in it; besides that he had it always in his Power to make a diversion in favour of *Madruccio* to save himself from it) was resolv'd to try a new remedy. Going therefore to *Madruccio*, he promis'd faithfully to declare for one of the seven in three days, provided he would promise on the other side, that nothing should be attempted during that time to his prejudice.

Madruccio having consulted his Party upon this proposal, it was concluded, that he ought by no means to accept it, by which repulse *Montalto* found himself more than ever prest to determine his choice to one of the List: And considering that *Como*, *Paleotti*, and *Sanseverin* were contrary to his Interest; *Madruccio* disagreeable to the College; and *Colonna* sure to be rejected; he was under a necessity of pitching upon *Santiquatro* or *Cremona*, as *Sforza* had often advis'd him.

It is very true, that he was the less willing to come into this Resolution, both out of regard to the Grand Duke and the Duke of *Mantua*, whom he had no mind to disoblige; but the fear of *Paleotti*, if he should pitch upon any other Person, got the better of that Consideration. For, altho' he had many reasons to incline him to oblige those Princes, yet no Consideration ought to make him ruin himself. If his failing to-

wards

wards them upon this occasion was great, his Excuse for it was of more weight.

But when his constant Behaviour hitherto, in opposing the Election of these two Cardinals out of his respect to the two Dukes, was compared with the management of their Ministers against him, by endeavouring to make *Paleotti* Pope, (to whom *Fierenza* had that very morning given a publick *Accedo*, even against his Word to *Montalto*, as the *Gonzaga's* had given their Votes) he seemed to be abundantly excused for what he intended to do. For no Prudence dictates, no Reason teaches, no Law obliges any person to stave off any Mischief from another, by bringing a greater upon himself. For the Love of ourselves being the standard of Charity, no Man is bound to prevent his Neighbour's Loss, when he runs a plain risk of ruining himself by doing so.

Montalto therefore considering that the whole World, and even those Princes themselves, would not only excuse but commend his declaring for the one or other of the foresaid Cardinals, in the situation he was in at present, he resolved to effect it; but first he would try if he were secure of the Exclusion of *Paleotti*: Taking therefore a turn thro' the Conclave, he got twenty two Votes against him; but fearing that some of these might fail him, as others had done that morning, he found it was not time to dally. He began to examine therefore within himself the different reasons that might be urged for both the Cardinals, in order to make his choice; and judging that since he must disgust one of the Dukes, it was more eligible to shew regard to his Friend and Relation, rather than to the other who was only his Friend; considering also that by setting up for *Cremona* he disobliged the Great Duke less than if he should pitch upon *Santiquatro*, because the first had not been objected to by that Prince, by choice or upon his own account, but to oblige another; whereas the latter had been excluded by him out of regard to his own Interest. Besides, by pitching upon *Cremona*, he obliged both *Sforza* and *Altemps*, but in *Santiquatro* he pleased

pleased *Sforza* alone. He considered the different Tempers of the Men, *Santiquatro* was somewhat morose and severe, and he had no other security that he would not hurt him, but his Inclination, which might change; but *Cremona* was of a benign, easy Disposition, so that if he had a mind to do him a mischief, he could not tell how to be able to do it. He also knew that if *Santiquatro* had received Favours from *Sixtus V.* he had likewise been disgusted by him; whereas if *Cremona* had not been obliged to that Pope, he had never received any displeasure at his hands.

With all these Considerations Disgust had also some force with *Montalto*. He remember'd how the *Gonzaga's* had despised the Duke of *Mantua's* orders to assist *Mondovi*, as also his own Declaration both to the Duke and to them, that he would set up *Cremona*, unless they voted for *Mondovi*, which they slighted; but above all, the Affront they had put upon him, by doing all that was in their power to make *Paleotti* Pope before his face. All these things put together, he determined to set up *Cremona*.

Montalto at
last resolves to
abuse *Cremona*
22.

Returning therefore about ten at night, from making the Exclusion of *Paleotti*, under colour of desiring *Cremona's* Assistance he went into his Cell, and finding him at his Prayers, he told him that the next morning he would make him Pope, but forbidding him to tell it to any body: From thence he retired to his own Apartment, where *Sforza* and *Salviati* came to desire him to determine to elect either *Santiquatro* or *Cremona*, telling him that his delay might get *Paleotti* advanced to the Chair, by Scrutiny next morning. His Answer was, that he would undoubtedly pitch upon him of the two who was the most likely to succeed, by next morning.

From this time it was the common talk of the Conclave, that *Montalto* had declared for one of those two Cardinals, and it was concluded that of the two he would pitch upon *Santiquatro*, because he was 72 years old, and a man of Learning, one that understood Government, no stranger to the Court, nor

to the Affairs of *Europe*; he was esteemed a Man of good Principles, born a subject of the Church, and very acceptable to *Sforza*, and to many of *Montalto's* Party; whereas *Cremona* (altho' he was of an unexceptionable Life, and benign Temper) was not so much in years, being but 56, unexperienced in Court Affairs, and less in those abroad, for which reason he was thought unfit for the present juncture: They considered likewise that in chusing *Santiquatro* he must disoblige the Great Duke, but by pitching upon *Cremona* he disgusted both the Great Duke and the Duke of *Mantua*, to the first of which he had only given his Promise by Word of mouth, but to the other under his hand.

For these reasons, *Sforza* and some others certainly concluded, from the latter part of *Montalto's* Answer, that *Santiquatro* must be Pope; so that — * going immediately to him, he bid him take courage, for *Montalto* having declared that the next morning he would either make him or *Cremona* Pope, he, as knowing something of *Montalto's* mind, was confident it must be him, and so much the rather because he had not been wanting in doing him all the good offices in his power with *Montalto*. Soon after this others being full of hopes, or rather thinking themselves sure, sent to congratulate him upon his being Pope, so that he had all the reason in the World to believe it from what — had told him. However he had some doubt about it, because the News had not come to him from that quarter that he had reason to expect it from, had it been true.

To clear his doubts therefore, he sent about 3 a-clock in the morning to *Sforza*, who confirmed the account he had before received, and excused his not having come himself to give him notice of it, because he would not give any umbrage to his opposites. This Confirmation made the old Gentleman as jolly

* This Blank is left, as also the following, because it must be a Mistake in the *Italian MSS.* being in both Places *Sforza*, which is a plain Contradiction, as appears both from the antecedent and subsequent §§.

and brisk, as he was dejected next morning, when he saw his hopes vanish.

Montalto had laid down a Scheme before he went to bed, which he resolved to pursue the next morning, that he might not fail of making *Cremona* Pope, nor be prevented in his design by the *Gonzaga's*, who the day before had got a promise from *Gaetano*, *Caraffa*, and *Colonna*, not to agree to it, and in this they were assisted by the *Florentines*. His Scheme was, that next morning, at the third ringing of the Bell, whilst the Cardinals met in the *Sala Regia* to put on their Crosses, in order to go to Chapel, he was to speak to *Sforza*, and then to *Madrucchio*, and at the same instant to advertise all his Creatures; and *Sforza* was to secure the *Gregorians*, and *Altemps* all his Friends, and so to proceed at once to the Adoration, that the opposite Party might not have time to make the Exclusion. But being advertised by one of *Sforza's* Conclavists about 4 a-clock in the morning, that *Paleotti's* people were packing up their trunks, and that his Friends were going about thro' the Conclave, he was obliged to alter his Scheme, and hasten the Execution of his Design.

He declares
his Design to
Sforza.

Getting out of bed therefore with all Expedition, he consulted with *Sforza*, who was come to his Cell, telling him his Resolution to chuse *Cremona*, and after much Conversation they agreed upon the manner of bringing it about.

Montalto therefore went about break of day to *Madrucchio*, and told him his design, who said he would get up, and give his Friends an account of it. But *Montalto* not being satisfied with that Answer, since he had determined to make a Pope, and that the naming the person had come from him, he was resolved to have the glory of it entirely to himself; he therefore departed without waiting for *Madrucchio*, and advertised sixteen or eighteen of his own Creatures; *Sforza* and *Altemps* doing the same on their parts.

In the mean time it was reported in the Conclave that the Pope was made, but the person was doubtful; some affirming it

it was *Santiquatro*, some *Cremona*, and others *Paleotti*; but most were of opinion it was *Santiquatro*, by what they had heard before. At which Report *Monte* getting up, and doubting that it was true, because he heard *Montalto* was up, as he was going to him he met him by the way, and hearing from his own mouth that *Cremona* was the person, he seemed reviv'd, and for fear of forcing the other upon *Santiquatro*, he did not use that diligence that he might have done to cross him.

About break of day therefore *Sforza* and *Montalto* went to *Cremona's* Cell, and made him dress himself in haste before seven or eight Cardinals who were there, sending *Boromeo* at the same time to *Madruccio*, who, either to give time to the *Gonzaga's* to make the Exclusion, or for some other reason, moved very slowly, saying, that they ought not to manage their matters with such haste; and desiring him to tell *Montalto* to beware of making *Cremona* leave his Apartment without him, for if he did, he would not join with him. But that did not stop *Montalto* and his Friends from conducting *Cremona* to the Chapel; in passing through the *Sala Regia*, old *Gonzaga* (who had been apprised of the Design by several Messages that night, but would not stir, and had only got up late upon notice given him of it by *Spinola*, and was now walking in *Sixtus IV.'s* Chapel; amazed and in confusion) seeing him, ran to embrace him.

But *Madruccio* had not as yet moved, being angry at his people for shewing so little regard for him, as to ascribe all the glory of the Election to *Montalto*; he murmur'd aloud, and one of his Conclavists complained that they had failed in their respect to the King, in having made the Pope without that Cardinal.

But at last *Madruccio* perceiving that there were as many gone with *Cremona* as would do his business, went to the Chapel, accompanied by some of his Party, but very much dissatisfied, that he who had hitherto been so great a Captain in all this War, should now be made use of as a Centinel in a crowd with the rest.

*Cremona
chosen Pope.*

• *Vid. Pref.*

However all the other Cardinals going in one by one, left the Pope should be made without them, the Scrutiny began, in which *Cremona* was chosen by the whole College with open * Votes; and he himself gave his Vote for the Dean: Upon which followed the Adoration, with the other usual Ceremonies.

This was at last the result of this difficult and intricate Affair, after so many contrary Intrigues and Debates. It was indeed very different from what was expected at first. For there being in the Conclave two powerful Factions (without either of which the Pope could not have been chosen) and they both having promised not to chuse *Cremona*, it seemed impossible that he should have arrived to that Dignity.

But some more diligent Observers of the Management of the Intrigues of that Conclave, judged that it could not happen otherwise. Hence we may see that a superficial view of things is not sufficient in Affairs of that nature, matters ought to be weighed with profound judgment; all the different Accidents that occur from time to time, with the tendency of them must be observed, the several reasons of People's Actions must be duly applied, and the Regards and Interests of the different Cardinals well considered, in order to form a solid Judgment of the Event. And hence likewise we may infer, how much they are mistaken who, in these Negotiations, depend upon the Words and Promises of Men, which are generally weak pillars, but most certainly false and deceitful in Cardinals met together in a Conclave, where every little unforeseen Accident changes the face of Affairs every hour, and alters people's Wills and Inclinations, and makes them act in opposition to their Engagements; Interest, Danger, Fears, and mutual Support and Assistance being sufficient Excuses for any Failings of that kind: For if any thing falls out that clashes with the occasion of making a Promise, or if the Word given is not supported with sufficient reasons to hinder the breaking of it, they are not at all out of countenance to be thought worse than their Word; of which we have many instances in former Conclaves.

To

To conclude this Discourse. We may say, that considering all the Circumstances of *Cremona's* Election, it appeared to have been the Work of God, who, to shew the Weakness of human Reason, and the Folly of such as trust to their own Judgment and Conduct with regard to temporal Affairs, over-ruled that Conclave by his Providence, to chuse a Person Pope, not only against the common opinion, and in spite of such as excluded him, but even one whom two thirds of the College, and even of the *Spanish* Party, had an aversion to: Altho' at the same time it cannot be denied, but Management and Politicks had a great Share in the Success of it.

F I N I S.



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The first of the three parts of the
book is a general introduction to the
study of the Bible, and is written
in a simple and straightforward
manner, so that it may be
understood by all. The second
part is a history of the Bible,
from the time of its origin to
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is a description of the Bible,
and of the various editions and
translations of it. The book is
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